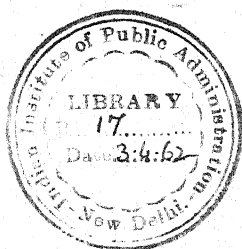


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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The Indian Institute of Public Administration was established in March 1954 under the presidentship of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India. The Institute has been recognised as the National Section for India of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences. Regional Branches of the Institute have been established in Andhra Pradesh, Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan; and Local Branches at Lucknow, Patna, Poona, Shillong, Trivandrum, and Vallabh Vidyanagar.

The Institute's ordinary membership is open to all persons above 25 who are actively interested in or concerned with the study or practice of public administration, the annual subscription being Rs. 25. Associate membership, without the right to participate in the management of the Institute's affairs and with a membership fee of Rs. 12 per annum, is open to *bona fide* post-graduate students and persons below 25 but otherwise eligible. Corporate Members are admitted on such conditions as may be specified in each case.

The services offered by the Institute to its members include free supply of the Institute's journal and selected research publications, a reference and lending library, information and advice on administrative problems, and participation in the Institute's activities.

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THE INDIAN JOURNAL

OF

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Vol. V

January-March 1959

No. 1

ADMINISTRATION—A HUMAN PROBLEM*

I AM very glad to have come here in response to the kind invitation of the Executive Council of the Indian Institute of Public Administration for opening its new building. Having had the pleasure of visiting your Institute earlier in your old premises, I can claim a little familiarity with its working and its aims and objects. I have also had occasion to visit and know something about a similar institution in Hyderabad—the Administrative Staff College of India. Both of these institutions are of all-India importance and national in character, the main difference being that whereas yours has been sponsored by the Government, the Administrative Staff College of India located at Hyderabad is mainly the result of non-governmental effort. But I take it that to some extent at least both of these must be covering common ground and care must have been taken to avoid duplication or overlapping.

Public administration in a vast country like India has a deep bearing on the happiness and welfare of the people. At a time when governmental functions and business administrations are tending to expand more and more in people's interest and when the impact of the administrative machinery is felt at all levels of public activity, any plan which seeks to promote the study of public administration and to provide facilities therefor, will be widely welcomed. I am happy that the Union Government should have taken the initiative in setting up an institute like this with which the State Governments, academic bodies, individual units of Government and business associations are closely connected.

Public administration, as I view it as a layman, is a pragmatic science, by which I mean that human experience and our day-to-day

* Text of the address delivered by the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, at the opening of the Institute's School of Public Administration and its buildings at Indraprastha Estate, Ring Road, New Delhi, on the 31st January, 1959.

needs and requirements are the mainspring from which its aims and rules of procedure are drawn. In a sense, therefore, the principles of public administration reflect the spirit of the age and the conditions of society in that age. We read with considerable interest the accounts of the working of public administrations in ancient times, the middle ages and the beginning of the modern era from the pen of historians and travellers. Those accounts do give us an idea of the state of social and public affairs prevailing in those times. But gradually as the tempo of social life has gone on mounting as a result of the advances in knowledge and the multiplication of human needs, public administration also has gone on acquiring a more and more complicated complexion. Today we have reached a stage when the smooth or defective working of administration whether at the governmental or business level, cannot fail to be reflected in the day-to-day affairs of the people. That is because public administration has made inroads into every department of life so that anything like a vacuum from the point of view of administration has ceased to exist.

That being so, hardly an argument is needed to support the plea for setting up special institutes like yours for promoting and providing the study of administration and its various branches. As I have said, public administration in order to be useful or, at any rate, above criticism has to keep itself in close touch with all sections of the public, for it is from public opinion and popular action and reaction that it draws the material on which to build, to correct and to reshape itself. Hence the need of an intensive study of the various subjects of popular interest, particularly social sciences like Economics and Political Science. Hence also the need of continuous research leading to proper appreciation of popular needs.

It is gratifying to know that the detailed programme which you have prepared provides amply for all these activities. Apart from building up and maintaining suitable libraries and information services to facilitate the study of public administration and spreading information in regard thereto, you have also organised a school of public administration for the training of administrators. I am sure the two years' and one year's training courses which you have provided in this school will attract large numbers of our young men and women and, in the long run, it would improve the quality of the human material for purposes of selection of our administrative services and business administration.

While you have taken all possible care to provide facilities for study, research and training, which may be expected to turn out efficient administrators, I shall take the liberty of pointing out to one:

quality which I consider to be a basic qualification for an administrator. Apart from efficiency which is so essential, the administrator needs to have a human approach to all problems and programmes that he has to solve and implement. That implies that he must have the spirit of service. Without this human approach and this spirit of service even the best trained administrator will fail to have the right approach to the problems he is called upon to tackle. Administration, let it not be forgotten, is not an end in itself. It is essentially a means to an end, which is promoting the welfare of the community through orderly management of day-to-day affairs and smooth disposal of work whether in office or in the field. This end can be achieved only if those entrusted with the task of administration undertake it in a spirit of public service. They must conduct themselves in a manner which inspires people's confidence and co-operation. I have mentioned it here because you are going to train young men in the principles of public administration.

An organisation like yours, which is both a research and study centre and a training institution, requires good and commodious premises. I am, therefore, happy to see that through your Executive Council's efforts and Government's help you are now going to have your own building. While declaring this new building open, I offer you my congratulations and wish the Indian Institute of Public Administration the best of luck and a long career of service to the nation.

FIVE YEARS OF THE INSTITUTE*

V. T. Krishnamachari

I should like to say at the outset how deeply grateful we are to you, Mr. President, for so graciously consenting to open the new building of the Indian Institute of Public Administration and to inaugurate the Indian School of Public Administration.

Administration has always played an important part in India because of the wide range and variety of governmental functions and because the activities of government affect the daily lives of many millions of people. It should be realised, however, that the coming of Independence and the establishment of a Welfare State call for a radical transformation of an administration which was evolved over several decades to meet the requirements of an entirely different social order. What is needed is not merely a change in systems and procedures but a new philosophy and moral purpose. The Institute has been established to assist in this process of transformation. It provides a forum in which administrators will meet men and women with different backgrounds and experience and discuss common problems with them.

The Institute was established in March 1954 as a registered society. Its objects, as stated in the Memorandum of Association are, briefly:

- (i) to promote and provide for the study of public administration and economic and political science with special reference to public administration and the machinery of government;
- (ii) to organise study courses, conferences and lectures and research in matters relating to public administration and the machinery of government;
- (iii) to undertake the publication of a journal and of research papers and books to impart training in and promote the study of public administration;
- (iv) to establish and maintain libraries and information services to facilitate the study of public administration and spreading information in regard thereto.

During the last four years and more we have endeavoured in our work to keep in view these objectives and help to accomplish

* Welcome speech at the opening of the Institute's buildings and School on January 31, 1959.

them. We have now about 1200 members from all parts of India. We have also members outside India. All State Governments and most universities in India have now become our corporate members. We have also other corporate members, such as business associations. While the majority of our members are in the service of government, all sides of national life are represented in our membership. We have among us university teachers, members of legislature, business men and men and women from other walks of life. We have also a special class of associate members consisting of post-graduate students. We have a programme for regional and local branches. There are four regional branches in Bombay, Mysore, Utkal and Rajasthan and local branches at Trivandrum, Patna, Lucknow and Madras, and soon we expect to have regional and local branches in all States.

Our activities may be grouped under four heads:

Firstly, we have research schemes in progress bearing on important aspects of administration and useful material on administrative systems is being collected. Quite recently, we published a book describing the organisation of the Government of India at headquarters. Other similar publications are under preparation.

Secondly, we conduct critical studies of specific administrative problems—like village institutions, district administration, management of public enterprises, morale in the public services, the Delhi traffic authority—and hold seminars. Papers are published bringing out the results of the discussions at these seminars. We also arrange public lectures by eminent persons in the field of public administration.

Thirdly, we publish a quarterly journal, a monthly abstract of articles appearing in journals on public administration and a monthly newsletter giving information about orders relating to administration issued by the Central and State Governments. I am glad to say that the quality of these publications is improving steadily and our members are finding them useful.

Fourthly, we have a well-equipped library and reading room for the use of our members. We have established contacts with similar institutions in other countries and obtain their publications for our library.

The Indian School of Public Administration, which was one of the original objectives of the Institute, took time to organise. We

had to work out the courses of studies with the best advice available, recruit teachers and train them in suitable institutions. These preliminaries were completed towards the close of the last year. The School began work in November 1958. This year we have admitted a small number—seven in the First Year Class and 23 (including six Government officers from the States) in the Second Year Class, as we had to make a beginning in the temporary buildings in our occupation. The School is primarily intended to impart higher education in the field of Public Administration (including Economic Administration and Social Administration). Its courses are designed to give the students a broad comprehension of the process of making of public policy as well as of the agencies and techniques that facilitate efficient administration. The main objective may be briefly described as the provision of a liberal education in a professional subject—that of Public Administration. The School also engages itself in research in the field of Public Administration. Both in the instruction it imparts and the research it conducts, the School works in close association with the other activities of the Institute of which it forms a part. It provides a two years' course for graduates of any faculty, and a one year's course for those who already have a Master's degree in Public Administration or allied subjects. In the teaching we attach special importance to the participation of those who have practical experience of administration and actual work in government units is part of the scheme of studies. There is a hostel attached to the School.

I should like, in this connection, to express our deep gratitude to the Government of India and the Ford Foundation for the generous financial assistance they have given to us. This assistance has enabled us to construct the buildings which you are opening today, to equip our library adequately and to train our teachers in universities outside India. With the new facilities available, we shall be able to increase our membership, expand our work and give much more assistance to our members than we have been able to do in the past.

The nation is committed irrevocably to policies and programmes for large-scale social and economic development aimed at bringing about a rapid rise in standards of living and the largest measure of social justice attainable. For the success of these, nothing is more vital than that there should be administrations in the Centre and the States consisting of men and women with a sense of mission, efficient in their spheres of work, living with the people and in close contact with their problems, and assisting them in their efforts for a fuller life. It will always be the aim of the Institute through its varied

activities to assist its members and others coming under its influence to play their part in the new order of things.

The Executive Council of the Institute beg to take this opportunity of acknowledging with gratitude the guidance it has received in its work from the Prime Minister, who is the President of the Institute. His interest in the Institute and all its activities is a source of inspiration to all of us. We have also received much help from the Ministers at the Centre and in the States and also Governors. Eminent non-official gentlemen, Members of Parliament and others, have also been unstinting in their support to us. To all of them we should like to express our gratitude.

I now request you, Mr. President, to be so good as to declare the main building formally open and also inaugurate the School.



ADMINISTRATION : THEN AND NOW*

John Matthai

I THINK it was Sir John Seeley who in one of his lectures as Professor of Modern History at Cambridge made a distinction between organic government and free government. Organic government, according to him, is a government in which those who govern and those who are governed belong to the same social or racial group. By the term free government he meant not merely that the government belonged organically to the same community as the governed, but that the government were elected by the people and hence represented their common will. In the context of current politics, an organic government which is also free would mean a government based on nationalism and democracy. A national democratic government is the type of government which has come into existence in India as a result of the achievement of independence. A government marked by a true sense of nationality and functioning on a democratic basis is ideally the best government a country could have. We have achieved in India as a result of the freedom movement a system of government which is inherently superior to government by a foreign bureaucracy and which in good and capable hands might be expected logically to be the best in the interests of the country. The distinction between administration before and now is that before independence the government that carried on the administration was neither organic nor free but now it is both.

In determining how far the expectations regarding the new government have been fulfilled in the years which have followed, it is worth while to survey the period since Independence to find out what are the factors which have helped and also what are the factors which have hampered the successful working of government. I propose to gather such thoughts as I have on the subject of my discourse round this topic and make it the main thesis of my lecture.

Taking first the factors which have enabled the country to carry on government with reasonable success since it became free, the most important, next to the dynamic sense of a newly fulfilled nationalism, was the momentum and tradition derived from the old government. Unlike other Asian countries which were involved in the war, India

* Text of the lecture delivered at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, on April 9, 1959.

was not subjected to annexation and government during the war by another power. Its methods of administration and the working of its economy did not suffer, as in neighbouring countries, by the dislocation caused by Japanese occupation. In fact we took over from the British a good going concern with a well-organized system of executive and judicial administration and of internal communications which provided the foundations on which a new government could be based.

But it was not merely that we took over a going concern, but those who were responsible for it before we assumed control, were interested in leaving behind a heritage which would not merely provide a framework of good administration but also a starting point for the development of its resources and the improvement of its standard of life. Practically all the more important development projects which form the main features of India's planned development have come to us from the government who preceded us. The Bhakra, D.V.C., Sindri, Chittaranjan and other projects which are integral parts of the Five Year Plans were conceived and initiated by those who preceded us. They did so with a sense of loyalty and disinterestedness which, looking at them from this distance of time, reflect no little credit on them.

An essential condition for the proper functioning of a democratic government is the framing of a constitution which will provide not merely political guidance and orderly procedure but an element of stability. The Indian Constitution in spite of many weak points, such as its unduly elaborate and complicated provisions and the confusion disclosed in them between matters suitable for parliamentary legislation and those suitable for constitutional regulation, has provided a useful starting point for the new government and has worked with almost unexpected success. It has survived two general elections held on a massive scale and among a largely illiterate population and met the political requirements of the country during the past ten years with an astonishing measure of success. The framing of a constitution so comprehensive and detailed in a relatively short period should be attributed mainly to the material provided for the constitution-makers in the Government of India Act passed by the British Parliament in 1935 which, whatever one may think of its individual provisions, was a monumental piece of legislation based on prodigious study and thought.

Apart from the Constitution, the running of the administration since Independence particularly at the top level has been largely the responsibility of the Indian officers of the Civil Service who have survived into the new era. They have shouldered the burden of administration with their past experience and training re-inforced by a new

spirit of patriotic service fostered by their consciousness for the first time of being agents of a national government.

One of the most enduring contributions made by the British to their successors in India is the spirit and tradition of the judiciary which they set up in the country. An independent and impartial system of judicial administration is a *sine qua non* of good government particularly in a democratic society. Many things have changed in India since Independence but the judiciary has not merely maintained the great traditions it has inherited from the previous regime but has strengthened it and enhanced its reputation in the difficult conditions of the new order. If the Constitution provides an element of stability for the country, it is to the courts we must look for its effective and impartial enforcement. The fundamental rights of the individual which form the essence of a free society are guaranteed in the Constitution but the guarantee depends for its validity and enforcement on the courts and it is correct to say that the courts so far have hardly ever failed us in this respect.

Lastly, in spite of independence and although constitutionally a republic, India has continued as a member of the commonwealth and of the sterling area. This has benefited her immensely in regard to problems of international trade and finance.

Although on both the administrative and developmental sides of government we are generally working on the pattern laid by the British government, there are at least three matters of first-class importance which the national government have initiated and for the development of which the credit must go entirely to them. The first is the formulation of India's foreign policy and the conduct of her foreign affairs, a field in which as a colonial dependency for two centuries India had had no experience but in which in recent years she has achieved an almost unique reputation. The second is the integration of the Indian States into a federal republic. Although the Government of India Act, 1935, had outlined the idea of a federal state, the formulation of a working policy and its successful implementation are solely the achievement of the new government. The third is the community development programme and the remarkable progress it has made. The idea originated with the present government and all the work on it has been done by them. If the potentialities of this project materialise in a reasonably full measure, it will make an immense difference to the future of the country.

Among the factors which have had the effect of adding to the difficulties of the new government, one of the most important is the

repercussion on the working of the new government of the ideas and methods of the revolutionary movement which brought it about. The Indian revolutionary movement was based on the principle of non-violence and non-violence as a method of revolutionary activity necessarily implied the adoption of direct action in one form or another. The most popular form of direct action during the revolutionary movement was *satyagraha* which although it did not involve physical violence, accepted no constitutional restraint and which in effect was an open defiance of the legal provisions and the constituted authority of the country. It is interesting to recall that the beginning of the scheme of states reorganisation was the result of the direct action adopted by a well-known State leader.

In the mass appeal which a revolutionary movement must make for its eventual success, there are certain measures which it adopts rather as symbols of a new social order than as effective aids to social and political well-being. In India these include such things as prohibition and the encouragement of hand-spinning which, it was obvious from the start, had little place in a state working under the conditions of the modern world. Nevertheless, in the people's eyes they provided a picture, however vague, of the new heaven and the new earth which the revolution was expected to bring about. When the national movement fulfilled itself in the form of a sovereign state it was impossible to lay aside suddenly these symbols which helped forward the revolutionary movement. They therefore continued after Independence as slogans, as catch-words which bore hardly any relation to the realities of administration.

One of the greatest handicaps of India since Independence has been the need of carrying forward the slogans of an ideological revolution. These, under the pressure of the necessities of modern administration, bore less and less relation to the real tasks of government. The result is that since we became a sovereign state, we have been hampered by the unrealistic atmosphere in which, as a hang-over of the revolution, government has had to be carried on. The weight of the dead hand still hangs heavy upon us and in the absence of the prophet, the disciples who have taken over the business of government have neither the ability nor the courage to discard these worn-out shibboleths.

In addition to these circumstances which complicated the work of government must be mentioned the enormous disorganisation caused by the partition of the country, the dislocation resulting from the departure from India of large numbers of experienced members of the various services and the tremendous increase in the quantum of administration necessitated by the integration of the Indian States and the

institution of a full-blooded system of parliamentary government. These constituted a heavy addition to the burdens of administration under which a new and inexperienced government had to labour.

A non-organic government in the sense of a government by a foreign power is marked by certain well-known characteristics which are illustrated by the experience of India under British rule. Before discussing them, it may be remarked that it is difficult to define in any given case to what extent the people who govern a country are organically related to the people they govern. What it broadly means in the context of the modern world is that the government and the governed both belong to the same nation and that what gives them a consciousness of unity is a sense of nationality. But nationalism is itself a difficult concept to analyse. If the United Provinces and Kashmir had been territorially different from the rest of India and did not historically belong to the jurisdiction of the same government, Shri Nehru would be a foreigner and the people of India would not feel a sense of national identity with him. His government would not then be an organic government any more than the British government who preceded it. Nationalism is today one of the strongest political forces but the foundations of nationalism are thin and shadowy and the influence it wields is difficult to appreciate or size up.

It is a common feature of government by foreigners that the governing class as a rule have little faith in the virtues of those who are governed. Their attitude is characterised generally by a superiority complex which is not consistent with that mutual understanding so essential to good government. A superiority complex is often accompanied by a sense of mission and service which to some extent redeems it. Even then it does not help people to gather the experience and self-confidence which would enable them to do things themselves instead of having them done by government for them. This was essentially the case with the British government in India. The best of those who constituted its ruling caste were able men inspired by a sense of purpose. But deep down they had little confidence in the people and little desire to inspire in them any self-confidence. Such a government may by some standards be regarded as efficient but in the business of governing men, efficiency is not the final test. The final test would undoubtedly include quantitative service but the decisive element in it is the psychological relationship that arises between the government and the people and how far the people are made conscious that they have a voice in their own destiny and that it can be fulfilled by their own exertion.

Under British rule, the extent to which the bureaucracy believed in the people varied a great deal from time to time. At the beginning:

of the East India Company's rule, commercial opportunism was the governing consideration and hence there was little occasion as between them and the people of India for considering who was superior and who was inferior. It was a business relationship which did not lend itself to a conscious measurement by either party of the cultural or social worth of the other. But as commercial business was gradually supplemented by the business of administration, the very process of exerting political dominion raised in people's minds the moral and intellectual status of the two parties which justified authority on one side and submission on the other. It is worth while recalling that in the middle of the 18th century, before the Industrial Revolution had started in England, the representatives of the East India Company in India found the general outline of India's economy not perceptibly different from their own and the sense of superiority which the progressive introduction of machinery created in the latter half of the 19th century was absent. Further, during the 18th century the growth of science was still in its early stages in Europe and the creative spirit and intellectual outlook displayed in the literature and philosophy of India were if anything superior to those of Europe. The culture and thought of India produced therefore on the minds of the better educated among the Company's representatives in India a genuine appreciation of India's classical writings and the artistry and thought embodied in them. This had its effect on government to the extent that although power ultimately rested with the Company, it induced an attitude of mutual regard and co-operation in administration.

The British people's interest in the Government of India started from commercial motives and since trade was their chief interest and government was looked upon largely as an instrument for promoting it, the main concern of government was to establish security by the maintenance of law and order in the country because nothing mattered more to a commercial community than the prevalence of a fair measure of security. The importance of preserving law and order acquired a special degree of importance because India had just emerged from a period of political trouble and disquiet and it was necessary to make every effort to restore and maintain a minimum degree of security so that trade could flourish. The attitude towards law and order displaced by the British government in India was inspired also by the tradition of the Roman Empire of which historically they regarded themselves as successors and the *Pax Romana* by which the Roman Empire in the mind of posterity justified its existence as a political entity. The government's purpose, therefore, however good, was in the main negative and provides a contrast with the outlook and purpose of the present government.

It was natural to expect that when a country was governed by another country and the purpose of the governing country was largely concerned with the promotion of trading interests, the attitude of government would be marked by a general bias in favour of the interests of the governing country. During the period of their rule in India, the British government commanded general respect for the fine sense of justice and impartiality they displayed as between different sections and interests of the Indian population. But throughout the period there was also a suspicion strongly held by the people of India, not without foundation, that when it came to a matter in which the interests of India and Britain clashed, the government could not be trusted to hold the scales even. The famous instance of the excise duty levied on the cotton textile industry in India for the benefit of Lancashire was a case in point. So was the general policy followed in the economic field of discouraging industrial development in India and encouraging imports of manufactured goods from Britain and exports of raw materials from India. This policy was reflected in the fiscal arrangements of the country and in the adjustment of railway freight rates. When the policy of protection for Indian industries was adopted in 1923, it was largely because the first world war demonstrated the need for making India self-sufficient from the point of view of the Empire in various categories of essential goods and materials. The old prejudices however still survived and the policy of discriminating protection except in the case of a few basic industries became largely a facade behind which India continued to be looked upon as a market for the products of British industries and as a supplier of the raw materials required by them.

Under a foreign government, the question of the language in which the business of government is transacted assumes an important form and is often a difficult and debated point of policy. Although in the initial period the language of the Moghul Empire remained the vehicle of official business in India, it was soon replaced by English for purposes of both official administration and education. Whether the adoption of English as a language of education and administration has in the event been a success or not is a question on which widely different opinions are still expressed. But one thing is clear; now that the British element in the services has left the country, the continued transaction of official business in English is proving a handicap. The standard of expression in official reports in India written in English has shown marked deterioration in recent years. The language used is too often clumsy, obscure and prolix. If the language in which official thinking is expressed deteriorates in quality, it reacts on administration itself in the same way as bad handling of the medium of instruction.

reacts upon the standard of education. A good illustration is the Report of the Official Language Commission. The strongest argument in that report in favour of the displacement of English as the official language of the country is the quality of the English in which the report is drafted.

The sense of unity which nationalism evokes is essential to democratic government. Without a consciousness of common interest and mutual affinity, no government by free discussion can work successfully. This is the day of nation states and at no period in history that one can recall, not even in the hey-day of nationalism in the 19th century in Europe, have the problems thrown up by the existence of nation states been so prominently before the world. In its modern form, particularly since the French Revolution, nationalism has been identified in the popular mind with the traditions of political liberalism in Western Europe. Today, the regions in which nationalism is an active and aggressive force are the Middle and Far East and Africa. The manner in which it works in these new areas seems to suggest that nationalism is not necessarily a liberal force but that it is capable of providing a basis for naked authoritarianism. What makes the sense of nationality an operative force in any country in the last resort is a spirit of opposition to or at least of distinctness from other countries. It is the existence of Israel that provides much of the motive force in Arab nationalism. It is similarly European colonialism which provides the motive force for nationalism in Asian and African countries. If the strength and prestige of a country as compared with other countries similarly situated are promoted by form of government which is not based on political freedom but on despotic rule exercised by the personality of an outstanding national leader, then nationalism takes the form which it assumed in France under Napoleon—a despotism supported by or acquiesced in by the will of the people.

The phenomenon of nationalism providing the foundation of totalitarian government is not without practical interest to India and to other countries in Asia and Africa. Economic development in the face of the lethargy and inertia of centuries will take a longer period to achieve under a democratic government than countries in need of development can afford. Meanwhile the ambition inspired by nationalism to match a country's strength and influence with those of more fully developed countries provides an almost irresistible motive to cut short the slow and tedious processes of democratic planning and development. How long a democratic government can provide a stable basis for economic development under these conditions is difficult to determine or forecast. An effective democratic leadership in an under-developed country and a willingness on the part of other

countries committed to the democratic way of life and having greater resources to assist it may prevent or postpone the eventual culmination of nationalism in despotism. In many countries nationalism has discarded the traditions of political liberalism and what will happen in the coming years in countries where the choice has not yet been finally made will depend on the judgment, resourcefulness and courage of democratic leadership abroad as well as at home.

Freedom is an ultimate good, but the way to freedom is hard to tread and is full of pitfalls. We are now a free people which we were not until a decade ago. But has freedom raised the quality of our life and has it made government more efficient, honest and just? The answer at present is doubtful. Decisions are now more difficult to reach, political canvassing is breeding corruption, the influence of ministers is beginning to demoralise the permanent services. When an organic government is also a free government, administration is not rendered easier but infinitely more difficult. It is true to say that on the whole confidence in the disinterestedness and efficiency of administration is waning all round. The time for final judgment is not yet. It is obvious that a period of transition is before us of which the end is not in sight.

We are dependant for our economic development on substantial aid from countries more developed than ourselves. The aid we are receiving in generous measure from them is largely motivated by political considerations because in the present shape of things in the East, India is the most effective counter-weight to communism. This does not create any immediate problem for us so long as no commitments in return for the aid are required of us as regards our political affiliations. It remains true, however, that when we accept assistance in the full knowledge that the assistance is proffered on the assumption of a particular political attitude on our part, we must be prepared to face situations which may cause us embarrassment hereafter. When the giver does not conceal his motive and the recipient is fully aware of it, continued acceptance of foreign aid will act in due course, if not technically at least morally, as a restraint on the recipient's freedom of action. We are no doubt borrowing funds from abroad on a business basis but the scramble for international capital is so severe today that to be accepted as a customer is itself a mark of favour.

In no sphere of administration perhaps is the difference between the old regime and the present more marked than in finance. The practice of budgeting for a deficit is now so generally accepted that the tests applicable to a balanced budget of the orthodox type are no longer relevant. The two world wars made deficit finance for war purposes so

unavoidable that its application to normal peace conditions represented no serious departure from accepted practice. Economic development is as important to the welfare of undeveloped states as war supposedly is to the security of the older and more developed states. The adoption of deficit finance as a normal method of raising budgetary resources has led to results the precise implications of which for the future of the state are difficult to estimate. One result is to lessen in the mind of government and of parliament the importance of exercising effective control upon expenditure. At a time of large and rapid economic development especially in the public sector the feeling that a large part of the resources required would come from money created by government minimises the role of prudence and thrift in public finance. The principle of rigid control of expenditure was overdone under the old regime but there is little doubt we have now gone far the other way under the influence of the facile philosophy that the pace and extent of development should be determined by requirements rather than by resources. While large sums of money are expended on planned development and its success is measured from time to time by the expenditure incurred, the doctrine that public expenditure should be kept under the closest scrutiny loses much of its force. To one who has worked under the old system of government as well as under the new, there is nothing that represents so big a difference in outlook between the two governments as their attitude to public expenditure.

While the size of our development programmes necessitates the provision of more resources than we can secure by taxation and voluntary borrowing, the increased dependance in developmental schemes on the expansion of the public sector renders the situation difficult in another way. What the socialistic pattern of society implies is that while in the old days the stimulus to the creation of more purchasing power and greater expenditure came from private enterprise under a policy of moderate taxation, in a socialistic society the stimulus is assumed to come from increased public expenditure based on a policy of heavier and more extensive taxation. The incentive to effort is becoming gradually less and the spirit of individual enterprise and initiative which motivates an economy by whatever label it is called is held in check. Whether justified on a close analysis of the facts or not, the idea gains ground that in a society working on the socialistic pattern, the individual exists for the state rather than the other way round. As far as individual citizens are concerned, they are losing inch by inch to the state the freedom they have won from foreign rule.

When I recall my impressions of the old government and the new, I feel that the difference between the two, alike in spirit and in

achievement, is greater and more clear-cut than I should have expected before Independence. Speaking with the utmost objectivity, I have no doubt that the movement for political freedom has been worthwhile and that not only in what it has accomplished but also in the promise it holds for the future, it represents a landmark of high significance in our history. It would, however, be unhistorical to deny that the work done by the old government provided the essential foundations on which the India now shaping before our eyes is fashioned. Those foundations were laid by men whose interest in their work was purely objective and of somewhat limited range but who set about it with a degree of ability and efficiency unsurpassed at the time. It was not a dynamic government nor a long-sighted one. It was a government that lived for the day and it did each day's work prosaically but thoroughly. It was an impersonal government which did not love the people nor asked for their love but did its work from a sheer sense of duty.

We are emotionally bound to the present government as we never were to the old. But whether each one of us reacts in favour of or against it, we feel it belongs to us. We do not claim that its members are a superior lot of men in ability or character but we know we have a proprietary right over them which entitles us to move them around or throw them out as we think fit. Not all of them do an honest day's work in return for the wages we pay them or the power we have vested in them. But the work they accomplish is nevertheless substantial and in the short period of ten years have done as much as any government have done in a comparable period of time. The sense of belonging to one another and of being answerable to one another can achieve much in the administrative field although the level of ability and character of those concerned is not high. We are generally satisfied with the present government but there are times when we feel sorely troubled and think that we have taken perhaps too great a risk in putting them in power. But the former feeling predominates and we know that although there are risks and difficulties ahead, we shall be able under their stewardship to walk safely along the brink of an unfathomable future.

ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

Marguerite J. Fisher

THE Constitution of India declares that the state shall not deny to any person "the equal protection of the laws" (Article 14), nor "discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them" (Article 15). Clause (2) of Article 16 states that no citizen shall, "on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State."

Nowhere in India, however, has there been the attempt to prevent discrimination in private employment through administrative commissions such as those which exist in several of the American states. These commissions have been established during the last two decades, chiefly in the North Eastern States. Since the prevention of discrimination on racial and religious grounds is a problem common both to the United States and India, the achievements of these American state commissions against discrimination provide interesting and significant subject-matter for the Indian public.

Outstanding among the American commissions against discrimination is that of New York State. Inasmuch as this state contains a number of minority groups within its population, it is not surprising that New York has pioneered in such legislation. In March 1945, a law was enacted, known as the Law Against Discrimination, sometimes referred to as the Ives-Quinn law after its sponsors in the two houses of the State Legislature.¹ The law became effective on July 1, 1945. The administration of this legislation since that date offers pertinent evidence and experience for other nations interested in combating problems of discrimination.

THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

The New York law provides for the creation of an independent State Commission with power "to eliminate and prevent" discrimination in employment, and the obligation to formulate policies to effectuate the purposes of the law.² In 1952 the legislature extended the

1. New York State, *Laws of 1945*, Chapter 118. Renumbered in 1951 without substantive change to Article 15, Sections 290-301, *Laws of 1951*, Chapter 800.

2. *Laws of 1951*, Chapter 800, Sec. 290.

enforcement jurisdiction of the Commission to include complaints of discrimination in places of public accommodation, amusement or resort,³ and in 1955 its jurisdiction was extended to publicly assisted housing.⁴ The law was designed to implement Article 1, Section 6a, of the New York State Constitution, which provides that "no person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws of this state or any sub-division thereof. No person shall, because of race, color, creed, or national origin, be subjected to any discrimination in his civil rights by any other person or by any firm, corporation, or institution, or by the state or any agency or sub-division of the state."

The State Commission Against Discrimination consists of five commissioners appointed by the Governor to serve staggered terms of five years, but with no provision for full-time obligated duty, on the ground that more able persons could thus be found to serve. The law gives the Commission power to make rules, regulations and policies consistent with the purpose of the law, thus making it a quasi-judicial administrative body. The Commission is given the responsibility of receiving, investigating and passing upon complaints within its jurisdiction. Pursuant to that responsibility the Commission is empowered to hold hearings, subpoena witnesses, compel their attendance, and administer oaths as well as take testimony under oath. It may compel the submission of books and papers pertinent to any of its investigations. To conduct its business, the Commission is authorized to appoint such attorneys, employees and agents as it deems necessary, fixing their salaries and prescribing their duties. It is empowered to conduct its business anywhere in the state.

The Commission is authorized to create regional and state-wide advisory agencies and conciliation councils, with the authority to study problems of discrimination. These community councils, as they are known in New York State, are empowered to make recommendations to the Commission on procedures and policies. A dozen of these councils have now been established throughout the state. The councils are composed of representative citizens serving without pay but with reimbursement for actual expenses.

The term "employee", as defined by the law, excludes private social clubs, fraternal, charitable, educational or religious associations

3. *Laws of 1952*, Chapter 285, amending Sec. 292 of the Law Against Discrimination. The law forbids any agent of such places directly or indirectly to refuse, withhold or deny to any person any advantages, facilities or privileges, or to give notice that such place shall withhold its services "to any person on account of race, color, creed, or national origin, or that the patronage or custom threat of any person belonging to or purporting to be of any particular race, color, creed, or national origin, is unwelcome, objectionable or not acceptable, desired or solicited."

4. *Laws of 1955*, Chapter 340.

or corporations, provided they are not operated for private profit. An "employer", under the law, does not cover employers with fewer than six persons in their employ. The term "employee" is defined as excluding persons employed by parents, or in the domestic service of any persons. The exclusion of domestic servants was adopted on the ground that such services involved social relationships not suitable for regulation. "Unlawful discriminatory practice" was defined in the law as refusal by an employer to hire or employ, to bar or discharge or otherwise discriminate in compensation or in terms, conditions or privileges of employment. Labour unions are prohibited by the law from excluding, expelling or otherwise discriminating in any way against their members, or against any employer or individual employed by an employer.

Employers and employment agencies are forbidden by the law to print or circulate (or cause to be circulated) any discriminatory statement or advertisement, or to use any application form for employment, or to make any inquiry, which includes any direct or indirect discrimination as to race, colour, creed or national origin.

To protect individuals from retaliation for making complaints or giving assistance in the enforcement of the law, it is unlawful for any employer, employment agency or labour union to discharge, expel or otherwise discriminate against any such person.

Section 299 provides that any person, employer, labour organization or employment agency which resists or interferes with the Commission or violates its orders, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by a fine not to exceed \$ 500, imprisonment not to exceed a year, or both. Persons aggrieved by an order of the Commission are permitted to seek relief in court, and the Commission likewise, can seek an order of the court for enforcement of its decrees. To expedite judicial review, in case it is invoked, such proceedings must be instituted within thirty days after the service of a Commission order.

Any person claiming to be discriminated against may file a complaint with the Commission. Likewise, the State Industrial Commissioner or Attorney-General may initiate such a complaint. Furthermore, any employer who has employees who refuse to co-operate with the law may file a complaint asking the Commission for assistance or remedial action.

When a complaint is filed, the chairman designates one of the commissioners to make a prompt investigation, with the assistance of the staff. The staff now includes approximately a hundred persons. In practice the staff field representatives have handled most of the investigative work, but a commissioner remains personally responsible.

If the complaint seems justified, the commissioner is directed by the law to eliminate the discriminatory practice by "conference, conciliation and persuasion".⁵

When conference, conciliation and persuasion fail, the Commission is empowered to serve a written notice calling for a public hearing before three other commissioners, at which time the respondent must answer charges filed in the complaint. The hearing is held before three commissioners, other than the investigating commissioner, sitting in the name of the Commission. The complainant's case is presented before the Commission by one of its own attorneys or agents. The complainant is allowed to present testimony in person, or by attorney. The respondent may appear in person, with or without counsel, and submit testimony. The testimony at the hearing is under oath and transcribed.

If the Commission concludes from the evidence that the respondent has engaged in unlawful discrimination, it issues a cease and desist order pertaining to the practice under question. It may also demand affirmative action, such as "hiring, reinstatement or upgrading of employees, with or without back pay, restoration to membership in any respondent labor organization, or the extension of full, equal and unsegregated accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges to all persons, as, in the judgment of the Commission, will effectuate the purposes" of the law.⁶ In this provision lies the chief enforcement feature of the law.

THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME

In accordance with the law, the Commission Against Discrimination has stressed a vigorous educational campaign as well as legal processes, each contributing to the success of the other. To administer the educational programme the Commission has established a department of education, public relations and research. This department has relied upon a two-fold programme: first, the use of such mass media as radio, television, films and pamphlets designed to reach the average citizen throughout the state, and second, the medium of community councils to disseminate information concerning the law.

Numerous educational materials have been prepared, including films, radio recordings, speaker's manuals, pamphlets and press releases. A film was completed, entitled *An Equal Chance*, which was exhibited as a March of Time documentary. This film depicts a minority group worker who encountered discrimination in seeking employment.

5. Section 296.

6. Section 296.

The role of the Commission in behalf of the worker is clearly illustrated in the film. This film has been given wide circulation both in public theatres and in meetings of private groups. Since 1950 the film and its sequel, entitled *Opportunity Unlimited*, have been shown on television as well as in regular theatres.

Phonograph recordings have been made of dramatizations of a number of Commission cases. Each case is presented as a fifteen-minute programme, followed by a panel discussion of the issues involved. These recordings are used in many high schools, and a manual has been prepared by the Commission for use under such conditions. The manual states the purpose of the recordings to be:⁷ (1) to provide information about the law and the role of the Commission; (2) to encourage young people of minority groups to train for any employment they wish; and (3) to dispel unfavourable stereotypes about minority groups.

In more recent years the Commission has devoted especial attention to television programmes. In recent summers an eight-week series of half-hour telecasts has been scheduled, featuring dramatic episodes from the Commission's files.

The Commission maintains a Speaker's Bureau, publicized through circular letters and correspondence. Approximately five hundred speeches are given annually by members of the Commission staff or the community councils, to such groups as employer associations, service clubs, schools, and adult education classes. Speakers explain the role of the Commission to two minority groups in their own languages—Spanish (Puerto Ricans) and Yiddish. A continuing flow of news concerning the activities of the Commission is sent to the newspapers of the state. Up to 1959 nearly a hundred articles about the work of the Commission had appeared in periodicals.

THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NEW YORK LAW

The major function of the community councils is to secure public support for the law in the local communities. The council members consist of persons known to be sympathetic to the law, and include educators, social workers, religious leaders, industrialists, labour leaders, and representatives of minority groups. Every effort is made to secure as members persons of prestige and influence in the community. The members serve a three-year term, and are appointed by the State Commission.

7. New York State Commission Against Discrimination, *1952 Annual Report*, p. 76.

The councils assist in the processes of conciliation in pending cases of alleged discrimination, and undertake special studies of discrimination in their localities. The State Commission assists the local councils by suggesting techniques for gaining community understanding, and by the provision of educational materials.

An illustration of the work of the councils is provided by the group in Albany, New York.⁸ The council members met with the top management of the department stores of the city, expressing concern about the absence of certain minority groups from the selling staffs of these stores. The council then approached women's clubs in the community, urging them to reassure the management of the stores that there would be no unfavourable public reaction against the employment of minority group persons as sales personnel. As a result of these efforts the first Negro salesgirl was hired by the largest store in the city. This result was achieved without recourse to the enforcement powers of the State Commission.

Another council, in Syracuse, New York, conducted a study of nurses' training schools in hospitals within the city, and found that there had been no applications for nurses' training by Negroes in recent years.⁹ The hospitals stated, further, that they had had no applications for employment from Negro nurses, but that they would employ such nurses, if qualified. After ascertaining these facts the council decided to acquaint Negro girls in the schools of the opportunities available for nurses' training and employment. A programme of information was initiated, chiefly through the school vocational guidance counsellors, in both the elementary and secondary schools of the city.

The council in Syracuse, New York, during the first five years of its existence, created a local speakers' bureau which sent speakers to meetings of various groups in the community. It sponsored public meetings of minority groups, personnel directors, vocational guidance counsellors, labour leaders, employers and religious leaders. It arranged for Commission films to be shown in the schools and neighbourhood theatres. Displays of Commission materials were set up at public meetings and in the local libraries. The council arranged for the display of advertisements in local buses, shown without charge by the transit company. Finally, an extensive educational campaign was carried out in the public and parochial schools of the city. All high school graduates received a copy of the pamphlet,

8. New York State Commission Against Discrimination, *1953 Report of Progress*, p. 43.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 67,

An Equal Chance. In short, the local council was the chief source of information within the city concerning the Commission's activities.

THE COMMISSION'S PATTERNS OF CONCILIATION

The New York State Commission Against Discrimination has two objectives : first, to eliminate discriminatory practices against which complaints have been filed, and second, to forestall other discriminatory acts in the future by a programme of education. To accomplish these objectives major reliance is placed upon conference, persuasion and conciliation. To effectuate a conciliation agreement, the Commission insists, as a minimum requirement for settlement, upon the following : (1) an immediate elimination of all existing violations of the law; (2) a general commitment that the respondent will henceforth obey the letter and spirit of the law; (3) a requirement that the respondent display the Commission's poster in a conspicuous place where all employees and applicants for employment may see it; and (4) a requirement that the Commission be permitted to make periodic inspections of the respondent's employment practices, and that the respondent's records be available to the Commission at the time of review.

Respondents are required by conciliation agreements to disseminate throughout their establishments announcements of the management's intention to comply with all provisions of the Law Against Discrimination. It has been the Commission's policy to make periodic reviews of a respondent's practices, to make sure that he is complying with the conciliation agreement.

Experience indicates that after complaints are filed, respondents have generally been willing to agree to the Commission's requirements, and presumably thereby to be rid of its scrutiny. The annual reports of the Commission contain a section headed "Patterns of Conciliation" in which illustrative cases are discussed, with the names of the parties involved. The technique of publicity has been utilized in these cases, on the assumption that would-be discriminators would change their policies and conform to the law if they faced the possibility of such publicity as a consequence of a complaint filed against them.

In the great majority of cases the Commission has been able to secure voluntary compliance with the Law Against Discrimination through conference, persuasion and conciliation. A public hearing is ordered only when it is impossible to reach a conciliation agreement with the respondent.

LITIGATION INVOLVING THE LAW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

In less than a dozen cases since 1945 respondents have appealed to the courts of New York State for judicial review of the Commission's orders. One such case arose in 1954.¹⁰ A Negro woman filed a complaint, alleging discrimination on grounds of colour because she was refused membership at the Castle Hill Beach Club. In the hearing the respondent contended that the club was private, and hence outside the jurisdiction of the Commission. The club in question was a large establishment, accommodating some 13,000 persons on a seasonable membership basis. The respondent club was organized as a membership corporation, but the seasonal members who used the club had no right to vote for officers or directors. The establishment was listed in the classified telephone directory under "Bathing Beaches—Public", and not under "Clubs". The establishment paid New York business taxes, and had not sought tax exemption as a private club. For some twenty years of operation no Negro had been admitted to the establishment. The president of the club conceded that the complainant had been rejected because she was Negro.

The Commission decided that the establishment was being operated as a place of public accommodation, and not as a *bona fide* private club, and hence it came under the Commission's jurisdiction. The respondent club, according to the Commission, had been organized under the Membership Corporation law of the state for the deliberate purpose of evading the Law Against Discrimination as a private club beyond the Commission's jurisdiction. A cease and desist order was served on the respondent establishment, restraining it from withholding membership from the complainant.

The respondent then appealed to the state Supreme Court, seeking dismissal of the Commission's order. In a decision of 1955 the Court upheld the Commission, declaring that the facts concerning the size and variety of facilities and mode of operation of the respondent club gave ample evidence that it was a place of public accommodation.¹¹ Determining that "all the findings of the Commission are supported by substantial proof", the Court stated that the Commission and the courts had "the power and the duty... to lift the corporate veil to ascertain the facts with respect to the *bona fides* of the petitioner."

10. New York State Commission Against Discrimination, 1954 *Report of Progress*, pp. 41-49.

11. *New York Law Journal*, June 27, 1955, p.1. See also *Ivory v. Edwards et al*, 105 N.Y.S. 2nd 580 (1950); *Holland v. Edwards et al*, 122 N.Y.S. 2nd 721 (1953); and *Ross v. Arbury et al*, 206 N. Y. Misc. 74 (1954), for other decisions in which the courts upheld orders of the Commission.

The foregoing case, as well as other litigation involving the Commission's orders, reveals not only that the Law Against Discrimination is well within the limits of judicial approval by the courts of New York State, but that it has been the intent of the courts to give it vigorous judicial support.

CONCLUSIONS

Experience since 1945 has provided abundant evidence that administrative procedures of the type followed by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination are much better adapted to the adjustment of complaints of discrimination than traditional court remedies, necessitating the expense and difficulties of litigation. Conventional enforcement of civil rights statutes through punitive action or civil damages is often impractical in meeting the subtly employed practices of discrimination stemming from emotionally charged feelings of prejudice.

The Commission's administration of the law has emphasized the prevention of future discrimination by conference and persuasion more than punishment for a past instance of discrimination based upon a complaint. An educational campaign has been combined with legal action in a dual approach to the problem. The Commission has found that widespread dissemination of information about the law and its enforcement has deterred would-be discriminators due to fear of having complaints filed against them with all the possible undesirable consequences. The direct liaison maintained by the Commission with many schools and universities throughout the state may ultimately constitute one of its most significant contributions, inasmuch as it is working with young people who may be the most receptive to the rationale of the Law.

Since the establishment of the Commission new fields of employment have opened up to people heretofore barred from such employment in New York State. The Commission has certainly expedited this development. It is worthy of note that there has been no effort to repeal the law. In fact, the regulatory jurisdiction of the Commission has been extended by legislative amendments. The few challenges of the Commission's decisions have been unsuccessful in the courts. Finally, the Commission's achievements are in harmony with basic American political principles, and in sharp contrast to the discriminatory practices currently the subject of notorious controversy in some of the Southern American states.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATOR*

N. V. Gadgil

ANY day administration is of importance. Administration is to community what grammar is to language. In other words, it means an element of uniformity and an element of certainty. If administrative decisions were to vary daily or hourly, it is no administration, it is more or less anarchy. There is nothing on which public can base any expectations and such a state of affairs is neither conducive to the stability of the Government nor the enjoyment by an individual of those rights which he considers fundamental. There must be security. There must be certainty both in administration and more particularly in administration of justice. People by and large judge the administration and through the administration the Government of the day by their own experience.... Therefore, where it is desired that the administration should be good, efficient and sound, it is not enough to say that it is so but the people whose lives are affected must feel so. It is not enough to say that one is honest but he must also look so. Having chosen to be Caesar's wife, you have to be above suspicion and what is far more important is that you must look to be so.

When I say administration is important, I have two aspects of it in my mind, its mechanics and its dynamics. It is difficult to define in precise terms what the administration ought to be in free India or what the new administrator should be.... One cannot think of administration or administrator without reference to the scope of administration and functions of the administrator. Unless one has a clear idea as to the purpose of the State and the functions it has to discharge, one cannot adequately build up an appropriate administration nor can one train the administrators fully. The purpose of our state is more or less defined in the preamble of our Constitution and also in Directive Principles of State Policy.... Administration is important because it is the instrument whereby the state implements its ideals, its decisions. It also implements its political and economic philosophy through administration. The mechanics of administration, I do not propose to discuss.... What matters most is the spirit and the philosophy which informs the entire administration. You may call the administration a machine but after all it is men who operate it. When I consider administration, it is not the Secretariat building, nor the bulky manuals which prescribe innumerable rules and which are amended

* Based on a lecture delivered to the I.A.S. Probationers in October 1958.

more often than desirable. Administration means administrators and administrators are not neutral instruments. They are human beings. A person is not a spoon. A spoon is indifferent whether it is used to serve honey or poison. There is a saying in Sanskrit, which means : "How can a spoon know the taste of what it contains?" Administrator is not so neutral as a spoon. He is an instrument of implementation of the policy adopted by the Government of the day with the approval of the legislature. He certainly is not neutral in the sense in which a spoon is neutral.

II

It becomes, therefore, of vital importance to what extent this instrument affects the implementation process. When one considers this, the question of recruitment of administrators becomes far more important. What kind of qualification and test one should lay down in this connection, whether the test should be subjective or objective, whether doctorate here or a degree there will be enough or do we want them to be put to subjective test as is done in some countries before persons are recruited? My own view is that there should be no subjective test. If a man honestly tells his views, he may not fit in. If he does otherwise, it is morally dangerous. The best test is how much general knowledge the recruit possesses. A general standard of education can be laid down. Certain minimum educational qualifications can be laid down. These are all objective tests and our policy in this connection follows more or less U.K. traditions. It is the general knowledge that counts. We should have the general mind in preference to a specialised mind... What really is needed is not the knowledge in a detailed way but the right approach, the right perspective with which the man analyses the problem. The expert is well up in theories. His gaze is intensive but the horizon of his knowledge is limited. What happens is that the expert is more particular about details and in fixing his attention on annas and pies, he often misses the rupee. He might count the trees all right but he misses the scent of the odour. A general mind is far more important today when the entire character of the state is undergoing radical and revolutionary change. The modern state today has a larger field for operation and for effective function. It looks after the life of the citizens from the cradle to the grave.

In such a context, a specialised mind and a narrow approach are less of help than hindrance. A person who knows most in a small field cannot have that vision, that foresight which is required for the administration of a modern state. Knowledge of economics and other

social sciences must be a necessary part of the minimum mental equipment the new administrator must possess. Administration is social engineering. It is not merely 'do something on the paper' or as mechanical as laying brick on brick, it is something more. Administration contemplates first formulation of policy and implementing the same in concrete acts... One has to be very cautious in predicting or in formulating propositions or policies in social sphere... This measure of caution is what is to be shown not by the politicians but by the administrators as a class. The politician is always ready to outbid his rival. He must promise more than he can perform. In the emotional atmosphere before the hustings discussion is jettisoned and a balanced view is considered as a hindrance. The administrator is, in this context, the conscience of the community. He is the corrective for all the unbalanced things said by the politicians, the moderator so far as the implementation of the party programme is concerned... In autocracy, the administrator has only to look to the source of his order and whatever the consequences of implementing that order, he owns no responsibility. He simply carries out the order. In a democracy the administrator has to take both the source of the order and its consequences... He is not merely to carry out the orders, it is his duty to indicate the consequences of the orders or of the programme that the Ministry has decided to follow. The administrator is presumably in possession of knowledge relevant to the subject. His vast experience there empowers him to speak with authority.

Administrator with a background of knowledge and experience which relatively speaking is not available to the Minister is in a better position to advise on what is possible for implementation and what is not. His experience corresponds much more to the needs of the community than the experience of politicians. The politicians have to be in the limelight, have to bow to public opinion, current at a particular moment. That is not the case with the administrator. He has experience and it is his duty to state the facts correctly. When the facts are there, the conclusions are obvious. Facts speak more eloquently than any amount of propaganda. You have to organise knowledge for the business of the Government and when you organise that, you collect data, you collect information. This process is not meaningless nor statistics are absolutely lifeless things. You should not forget that statistics are intimately connected with the life of the community. When one has the knowledge, has the requisite experience, one has necessarily one's own views about the matters concerned. He necessarily has some conclusions and out of those conclusions a theory of action is indicated. That means policy and policy cannot be thus divorced from knowledge and experience. The more effective

propaganda is done by a clear presentation of facts and a proper arrangement of the same.

I will illustrate this. In 1937, a bill amending the Child Marriage Restraint Act was introduced by one of the Congress members in the Central Assembly. The bill provided that the age of the girl and of the boy should be raised from 14 to 16 and from 18 to 21, respectively. It provided further that there should be a provision for an injunction both interim and final and if any marriage was celebrated in contravention of the provisions of the bill, the marriage should be declared void. When the bill came for second reading, the Party moved for a reference to the Select Committee. The Home Minister speaking on behalf of the Government said that it was very much in advance of public opinion and hence the Government opposed both the bill and the motion for the Select Committee. This phrase "in advance of public opinion" is a terrible phrase. In fact you will soon find in your career that certain phrases are to be invariably found in all Government proclamations, reports, declarations, etc. Just as about a thousand words constitute basic English, about 300 phrases constitute what one may call basic phrases of the administrative chariot. The bill was both supported and opposed by various members of the Central Assembly. I was then Secretary of the Party and I had decided to participate. I had collected number of statistics from the census report of 1931. In a calm manner, I gave figures of widows below the age of one year, then two years, then three and went up to 14. I just said, "At least 6,000 widows even before the little child could utter a single word" and ended my remarks by saying if this state of affairs is acceptable and approved by the British conscience, I have nothing to say. The House then adjourned for lunch. When the House regathered, Mr. Hutton, who was the Census Commissioner in 1931 and was one of the nominated members, came up to me and congratulated me. I thought it was just usual and nothing more than that. But he added that Government had changed its views and were now agreeable to refer the bill to the Select Committee because of my speech. I ascribed this success not to eloquence but to the arrangement of data and its presentation with proper emphasis and earnestness.

The point is that whatever may be the emotions, no administration can run unless the emotional aspect of any executive act or legislation is put to proper and adequate scrutiny in terms of relevant information and experience. . . . The Government is anxious and very rightly that all the things promised must be done within the five years' period so that their return to power once more is assured. Logically a thing may be correct, morally it may be wrong. Theoretically a thing may be correct but, in actual practice it may be very difficult to

bring about. You, as administrators, therefore, have to tell the Government politely but firmly what is possible and what is not, and if you do not do that, I honestly feel that you will not be doing your duty. It is your duty and responsibility to tell the Minister or the Government what in your views is the right decision and the right policy. The business of a good administrator is that he must tell the Minister his views freely and frankly. It is then for him to accept or reject the same. The business of the Minister is to tell the administrator the exact point beyond which people will not tolerate. Within that point the responsibility is of the administrator.

III

The new administrator must, therefore, be firm, most fearless, must be honest, intellectually honest. Ordinary honesty must be there but what I emphasise is intellectual honesty.... It does require an amount of courage to express yourself freely and to accord your act with your thought, but because it is a difficult task it does not mean that it should not be performed. I know it is very hard for a man to work under someone who may have been voted to power but who for the job concerned is thoroughly inadequate, but this is exactly the position of administration all over the world. Having chosen the career of an administrator you have to reconcile with the fact that ability is not always in power. As I said, it is a duty which you owe not merely to yourself but to the country at large that you must give your advice freely, frankly but respectfully to your Minister. No sane Minister would just disregard it. A wise Minister will think ten times before he disregards the advice of a Secretary, a man who has grown grey in the service, one who has great experience spread over a number of years, a person who is accustomed to take decisions, a mind who is both calm and, in a good sense, of calculative type. He is bound to consider it. I just illustrate this. While as a Minister, I introduced a bill in the Central Legislature entitled 'A bill to regulate the Electricity Undertakings in India'. The bill no doubt was radical, if not revolutionary. There were many provisions entirely new but there was one provision which sought to control dividend in these undertakings. My Secretary then was Shri B.K. Gokhale, a topmost, able I.C.S. officer with 30 years experience of administration to his credit. He said to me that certain provisions were too radical and should be deleted. I argued with him, discussed with him and I promised that I would give my views later on. I thought over the matter and I came to the conclusion that I was responsible to the people for the policy but at the same time it was my duty to see that nothing was done which should end in failure and frustration. I then told him

that some modifications could be acceptable to me. He was, however, not satisfied. He then wrote me a letter warning me in very respectful language as to the consequences of certain provisions if they were finally enacted and concluded by saying that he would be failing in his duty if he did not bring all that he had stated to my notice. I wrote him back that I was greatly obliged to him for bringing to my notice certain features of the proposed legislation and assured him that every aspect of his criticism would be taken into consideration in the Select Committee meeting and added that he would have failed in his duty if he had not written me that letter and assured him in the end that the bill as would emerge from the Select Committee would be mostly acceptable to him. We had 21 meetings of the Select Committee and when the bill was passed, he wrote me to say that on the whole the bill was good. As a good administrator, Shri Gokhale brought all he thought about it to my notice and also wrote a letter and I would have been a big fool if I had resented his writing to me.

The relationship between the administrator and the Minister must be strictly confidential and if possible close and frank. It is the concern of the administrator to see that the Minister is properly briefed, is well equipped with facts and figures and that he cuts a good figure on the floor of the House. It is equally the duty of the Minister, when he is answering criticism, meeting objections, defending his policy and his Ministry, not to let down his officers. As he is entitled to take credits, he must be ready to take the kicks. If something goes wrong in the department, the officer may be punished but the parliamentary responsibility is that of the Minister. He cannot shift the same on anybody. A Minister cannot expect success for his policy when he interferes too much in its implementation. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel once told me that a good administrator is one who chooses the right man for the right job at the right time and then does not interfere till the thing has failed. You cannot ask a man to do his job and force persons on him. He is bound to complain when he feels that the talent was his, the tools were chosen by somebody else. The Minister, therefore, must make plain to the administrator: "This is the policy. This you have to carry out". The material equipment and the choice of personnel should be entirely left to him. The responsibility of the job must clearly be fixed up. There is no need to interfere, no justification to interfere unless there is gross failure which seems to be imminent. The Minister should not interfere in matters of pure administration such as promotions and transfers unless gross injustice has been done. The Secretary has the complete picture of administration before him. He knows the mechanics of administration and it is wise for a Minister to leave a free hand to the Secretary in such matters.

IV

As an administrator, you have more than one master. You have your Minister, you have the Legislature and you have people at large. You have to keep good relations with the Legislature, because if you are entirely cut away from the Legislature, the criticism that will be voiced there will be ill-informed, perhaps may be even ignorant. In a democracy where every party has a chance to be in the Government and where such in-and-out process works the criticism of the Government from the Opposition is normally tempered and not altogether destructive. In the meetings of the Public Accounts Committee or of the Estimates Committee, the officers and administrators do come in contact with the members of Parliament. To that extent, administrators get the contacts. They also know what the members think about the administration in a general way.

The administrator has also to cater to the public at large. Public criticism has also to be taken note of by the administrators. It is not for them to say, well, it is a matter for the Government and if Government thinks anything has to be done, the initiative must come from the Government. That is a very narrow view of administration. Public criticism must be taken notice of first by the administrators themselves. Nobody should expect immunity from criticism in these days. Even in England the civil service is not free from public criticism. To the public at large, the administrator is a person who has a big salary with little work and no responsibility. Such criticism is not well-founded but it is there even in England. In India, therefore, where political conscience and political maturity are not visible on any considerable scale, criticism of the bureaucracy is bitter and more often based on complete ignorance. When ignorance is there, misrepresentation is inevitable. It is, therefore, necessary for the administrators that they have good relations with the public at large and that is possible when the administration takes the public into confidence, educates the citizen by presentation of facts and correct picture. There are situations where Government has to take strong steps but they must be properly explained to the people and that task is the task of the administration.

A well-known English administrator said that an administrator should have integrity, industry and anonymity but today anonymity is not possible and in some spheres it may not be desirable. When development schemes are proceeding on an extensive scale, the personality of the officer in charge of these is important. He has to carry public opinion with him, enlist co-operation of the public and see that all avoidable criticism is avoided. He really becomes the centre of

nerve of all the development in the area and to be successful in that he must advertise his goods. In other words, he must give adequate publicity to the work he is doing. In a democracy nothing is steady or stable. Things have to move. People cannot merely mark time. One can understand marking time when a review of the march already covered has become necessary but it cannot be long. Political pressures are there. It is here that the administrator has another important role to play. It is here that he has to regulate the speed and see that there is no hopping. Progress is not merely a process, it is a philosophy and it is necessary for the administrators to understand that there is, apart from the mechanical aspect and movement, something far more important in the process itself. Certain non-material elements are involved and you have to understand them. When knowledge becomes part of one's being, there is a sense of compulsion, and one has to give expression, one has to act. When I find that the Government is doing something wrong and when I have the knowledge adequate enough to understand the problem, it really becomes difficult for me to sit quiet. There is a moral urge to tell it and to prevent what is wrong from happening. As you grow more and more in experience and as you add more and more to your knowledge the sense of compulsion will also grow. There is also, as Professor Graham has said, instinct of workmanship which will not permit you to do a bad thing. Where there is knowledge and experience combined with a conviction and fervour, progress is certain.

The administrator has to see that the Government which is a going concern is successfully run. Since it is a going concern, you must have a plan for tomorrow and day after also. In modern state function of the administration without planning is unthinkable and if that is so there cannot be any planning unless it is preceded by adequate and effective thinking. Thinking for the community is not the job of the university people alone. It is not the job of the politicians alone. The administrators must think also and their thinking is bound to be realistic since it is provoked by experience and strengthened by experience as it is gathered.... The administrator must have a judicial temper, a balanced approach and an aptitude to weigh pros and cons. He must be free from prejudice, conscious or sub-conscious. The administrator must be just before he is generous to any individual or class. In our democracy today the administrator must be a statesman in the sense that he must have a balanced mind. He must be a politician in the sense that he should be a realist and ready to compromise without prejudice to principles, and lastly, he must be a man of conscience who will do nothing that is wrong, unjust or unfair.

LEVELS OF ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRALIZATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*

Bert F. Hoselitz

I AM very grateful to the Institute of Public Administration for having invited me to give this talk, but I feel extremely modest and hesitant to present my views on administrative problems before you, especially since I am not a political scientist, and the reflections I can present are those of an economist looking from the outside at some problems of administration of economic development projects. What I should like to discuss are the nature and place of various kinds of decisions that must be made if an economic development plan is to be designed and executed, and, in particular, how different decisions in this procedure are allocated and co-ordinated among different persons.

I

One way by which one may approach the problem of levels of centralization in the administration of economic development plans is, perhaps, by means of setting up an ideal-typical bi-polar model. In this model, two extreme ways by which the economic policy of a country can be executed are described.

On one extreme stands the practice of "perfect" liberalism; on the other, full-fledged authoritarian planning. Now, a "perfect" liberalistic system may be regarded as an ideal type, since it never really existed anywhere in the world. It is a pure construct of thought, a purely theoretical system, which seems to contain the following features: in the sphere of social action, there exists a balance and separation of powers analogous to that which was developed by Montesquieu and his successors for the fields of political action. In the system of Montesquieu, there is a balance between the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary powers of government. To this has been added a system of mutual checks of these branches of government which is designed to insure that none obtain total power and that freedom of political action be preserved. In a pure liberalistic system, three spheres of social, rather than political, action are defined which are in balance with each other. The first is the sphere of political

* This article is based upon a lecture delivered before the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi, on October 14, 1957.

decisions. In this sphere, the government has a monopoly and must have a monopoly, because in any political system it is the only possessor of ultimate physical power of enforcement. The second sphere of social action is that of economic decisions. These decisions, especially economic decisions affecting investment and allocation of resources, which, of course, have immediate relevance for economic growth, are made exclusively by private individuals. In this way, the persons who make economic decisions and the objectives towards which these decisions are made are completely separated from politics. In other words, there exists one group of persons who exclusively make political decisions and another group of persons who exclusively make economic decisions. The personnel who make political decisions make them for purposes of public welfare or security of the state, whereas the personnel who make economic decisions make them for private gain or—in the language of utilitarianism—for the maximization of the happiness of each individual participating in the economic process.

There is still a third group of actors who perform the role of critics of political and economic actions and who influence public opinion. These are the intellectuals. The intellectuals again form a distinct group of persons whose objectives differ from both those of the government and the economic decision-making units. The institutions through which the intellectuals function are the press, the radio, the universities; the media they use are books, magazines, newspapers, and various other artistic and intellectual productions. Their purpose is to teach and to inform, but also they evaluate critically the actions of other organizations in society. This is the reason why freedom of speech and assembly are such important aspects of a liberalistic system, since the guarantee that responsible discussion, even if critical, of the actions of government or economic decision-makers can be carried on, ensures that the social power exerted by political and economic decision-makers does not become absolute.

In an ideal liberalistic system, as for example one envisaged by a man like John Stuart Mill, these three social groups check and balance one another. If the political or the economic sector acts in a way detrimental to the social objectives generally agreed upon, it is up to the intellectuals to point out the errors committed, and this would, presumably by influencing public opinion, lead to some remedial action. If public pressures are strong enough, action would have to be undertaken to rectify the situation in order to bring it into line with generally agreed upon social objectives.

Clearly in such a system, decisions affecting economic development of the society are made essentially by a rather well-defined group

of persons. They are made by these individuals on the basis of their concern for the maximization of their own welfare or gain. Usually, the most important decisions, especially those relating to the allocation of resources and to investment, are made by businessmen, and therefore the businessmen take a predominant role in this system.

At the other extreme from liberalism is a system of full-fledged planning. Again, I do not think that a perfectly planned system actually exists anywhere in its pure form. But in theory it may be described as a system in which, instead of having several social groups, each with its own personnel, checking and balancing one another, there is a totalitarian dictator who makes all decisions himself. Since he is all-powerful and, presumably, in the system omniscient, he will in the ideal case make all the "right" decisions. The question which then has to be asked is: what are the ultimate objectives or purposes for which a dictator wishes to make these decisions? I think that a good deal of confusion about the nature of totalitarianism—which in different forms has existed since very early days in the history of mankind—has resulted from the failure to distinguish between the nature of totalitarian control, on the one hand, and the particular objectives toward which an all-powerful and "omniscient" agency was making the decisions, on the other. Clearly, if such an all-powerful and omniscient agency has as its objective to push the level of economic activity higher, it is quite likely that, because it is as all-powerful and as omniscient as it can be under the given technological and organizational conditions, it may initiate a rate of economic development which is considerably faster than one possible in other systems. And it is this rapidity of potential economic growth which some persons have in mind when they favour rigid centralization in developmental planning.

II

The discussion has remained confined so far to ideal systems. When discussing the liberalistic system, the assumption was made that a perfect division of social power can be achieved, and in the discussion of the centrally planned system, it was assumed that the central planning agency is all-powerful and omniscient, at least in the limited sense of the term, in that it is aware of all possible technological and organizational alternatives relevant to developmental planning. But in the real world there has never existed a perfect liberalistic or a perfect totalitarian system. Rather, we find systems of decision-making which lie somewhere between these two extremes. In other words, we may distinguish different systems by the degree of centralization of the decision-making process in the political and economic spheres.

In addition, we must yet consider a second point. Any system, whether it is perfectly decentralized, partially decentralized, or completely centralized, offers a variety of decisions on different levels of generality. Above all, one must distinguish between ultimate planning decisions and the decisions made in the course of the execution of a plan. Now, in any reasonably large and complex society, it is practically impossible, by the very nature of circumstances involved, for all decisions to be made effectively by one agency only. In other words, even in a perfectly centralized system, the actual performance of resource allocation is done in separate units, which are all distinct from one another. These allocation decisions are made in separate factories, separate farms, separate households, scattered all over the country. Many executive decisions of even the most highly centralized plans are made by entities which can easily be identified, which have a separate corporate or at least physical existence, and which actually make most of the decisions relating to the implementation of a plan. This situation holds true regardless of whether the actual basic plan is highly centralized or highly decentralized. It is an outcome of the requirements of bureaucratic administration of a plan, rather than of the socio-political philosophy upon which it is based.

One of the chief problems of the subject under survey here, *i.e.*, the problem of levels of centralization and decentralization in developmental planning, is the question of the relationship between central planning decisions and decisions made in implementation of the plan. The former are decisions made by a central planning agency establishing certain targets which are to be met at a specified time. The latter are decisions made by the various individuals who manage the different operating agencies (factories, farms, municipalities, etc.) through which a plan is carried into reality.

In much of the literature a sharp distinction is usually made between decisions at the level of planning (*i.e.*, policy decisions) and decisions made at the level of executing a plan (*i.e.*, implementation of policy). I should like to argue that this distinction is not easy to make and that, as a matter of fact, many decisions made in the course of the execution of a plan or implementation of a policy have an impact upon the plan or the policy itself, and that very often a plan must be modified because of the particular decisions that must be made at the level of executing it. A few simple examples for this suggest themselves.

No matter how centralized or well-planned an economy, there develop inevitably mistakes and errors and, what is more important, unforeseeable contingencies. No planning commission anywhere in the world has as yet succeeded in accurately predicting the output of

any particular agricultural commodity in a given year. Thus, a plan which provides, for example, for a certain amount of cotton to be produced in a given year, and which on the basis of this estimate allocates men and materials, machines and capital to the further processing of cotton, must also provide for a margin of error in the output estimates. In practice, this may be done—and actually is done—by allowing a set of alternatives to the plants which spin and weave and otherwise fabricate the raw cotton into finished pieces of textile, or finished garments, or other products. But since all eventualities cannot be foreseen, it is imperative to give a certain amount of leeway to the managers of each plant.

In the case of agricultural production, deviations from established targets occur usually because of weather conditions which are not predictable. But in all lines of production there may be accidents, disasters, or other "acts of God" which may considerably affect the output of a particular commodity, and sometimes even of a crucial commodity, and which may cause a final amount of production of that commodity which differs from the planned target. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there is the human factor. More important than weather conditions or accidents, is the fact that a production plan is executed by human beings whose attitudes and beliefs, motives and incentives will have a profound influence on the actual outcome of the plan.

Thus, in any plan one must count on disturbances, and one actually discovers that these disturbances happen if one notices that a planned target is either overfulfilled or underfulfilled. These deviations from targets are unavoidable, and it makes no difference whether the deviation is one or the other side of the target. In other words, underfulfilment is as good (or bad) a performance as overfulfilment. If, therefore, as is the case in many plans, overfulfilment is not regarded as a defect, underfulfilment should also not be regarded as one, unless it reaches very vast proportions. The degree of fulfilment of a plan may more often than not be merely a consequence of the conditions under which the targets may be approached, and a plan, even if all targets are not met, may still be as good a plan as is possible. But not only the fact of overfulfilment or underfulfilment of a segment of the plan, but even the degree of deviation from the target is no necessary measure of how well the plan was devised. Of course, these deviations must not exceed larger proportions, but if they remain within not more than 20 or 25 percentage points of the actual targets, it would be impossible to say whether the conception of the plan was inadequate or the conditions of its execution usually favourable or unfavourable.

This means, however, that the execution of a plan in many of its aspects may affect the further operation of the plan itself. Since it is impossible to foresee all contingencies, a plan, if it is to work smoothly, must provide for certain sectors in which a relatively high degree of discretion is given to individuals to make adjustments in the execution of the plan, or, in other words, to do some planning themselves. This planning by specialized persons and agencies will, in some way or another, affect the overall plan. One of the most important problems regarding the level of centralization or decentralization in planning for economic development is the question of what rules exist for making these adjustments in given sectors of the plan. These rules can come relatively close to those characteristics in a "liberal" system or in a non-liberal system. In other words, the provisions which are included in the plan and which prescribe what is to be done by a manager of a firm or industry, a plantation or group of villages, may be rules which are fairly rigid or which give a considerable amount of leeway to this particular individual. I think that this is what we should bear in mind when we talk about the degree of centralization or decentralization in economic planning.

What we are talking about is really not the effect of the plan as originally centrally made, but rather the nature of these particular rules designed for the execution of a plan. If a plan prescribes: "Do the best you can", it comes very close to a liberal system, because what it really says, if translated into a somewhat different language, is this: "Your objective is set for you. This objective is not necessarily the maximization of profits (as would be the case in a free enterprise system), but the meeting of a particular production target. Given this objective, you have as much freedom as is possible under the institutions of this economic system to act in such fashion as to come as close to the objective as you can." The liberal system says: "Your objective is different from that of the government. Your objective is the maximization of profit. The government will try to enforce a legal and institutional order which interferes as little as possible with making it possible for your meeting this objective." The planned economy, on the contrary, says: "Your objective is the meeting of the planned targets", but a plan which does not prescribe very rigid rules as to what to do in order to meet this objective may be regarded as a highly decentralized plan. It is a plan in which an overall picture may have been drawn up in a highly centralized way and in which the different targets that must be met by different operating agencies have been balanced against one another on the basis of overall considerations. But from the point of view of execution of such a plan, a high degree of decentralization is present if the rule for executing the plan

sets a target and then enjoins each person or group charged with its execution to do the best under the given circumstances to meet that target.

Such a system of decentralized planning is based upon the recognition that in all human affairs there are limits to the exercise of compulsion, and the related understanding that voluntary consensus is likely to lead to better results than a multiplicity of constraints. This point was widely discussed in the European economic literature in the first three decades of this century under the general title of "Power versus Economic Laws". Though these debates were clearly biased in favour of economic liberalism as a system more in harmony with "human nature", the general outcome was that under a situation of economic planning in which an executing agency is confronted with extremely rigid rules not only as to *what* objectives to meet, but also *how* to meet them, a degree of compulsion is introduced which makes the execution of the plan extremely difficult. In many such situations, we find that besides the formal organizations for execution of the plan, there develop informal methods of plan execution which constitute attempts to circumvent the prescribed rules.

Shortly after Stalin's death, an article on Soviet planning appeared in the American journal, *Problems of Communism*, which was entitled, "'Blat' is Higher than Stalin".¹ "Blat" is a Russian word which means "influence" or "connections". The point made in this article was that many agencies in the USSR which were charged with the execution of a plan found it convenient and even necessary to employ highly paid individual who had no other function but to use their connections. If, for example, a particular factory could not meet a prescribed quota, because of insufficient raw material supplies or if it ran into other difficulties, it usually did not proceed according to the prescribed rules, but rather made use of the gentleman who had "blat", in other words, who had good connections. This practice of going outside the formal channels was very widespread and quite commonly used. Incidentally, every manager or director who honestly attempted to meet the targets prescribed to his firm in the plan exposed himself, by using these informal channels, to possible persecution for sabotage. But in spite of these dangers, the day-to-day pressures were such as to induce many individuals to circumvent the prescribed rules in order to meet the targets set to them. Hence, even in a system in which the degree of compulsion as to the methods of meeting a particular set of targets, or implementing a particular plan, tend to be very

1. See Joseph S. Berliner, "'Blat' is Higher than Stalin," *Problems of Communism*, Vol. III, No. 1 (January-February 1954), pp. 22-31.

rigorous, ways and means are found for circumventing them and replacing them by informal rules.²

The result of this discussion is that in a planned economy, one crucial test as to whether the system is centralized or decentralized lies primarily in the manner in which a particular agency is supposed to act in order to meet the targets imposed upon it. If planning is decentralized, in the sense discussed earlier, each executing agency, *i.e.*, each factory, farm, or other operating unit, will have an incentive to use the most efficient methods of production in order to meet its objective. This follows from the simple application of economic theory. Although the traditional economic theory of the firm is based on the assumption that the objective of each unit, *i.e.*, each firm, is the maximization of private profit, the same economic principles, developed by traditional economic theory, are applicable, if the objective is different: for example, if instead of maximizing profit, it is desired to reach a given size of output, or to meet a given production target. Hence, it seems that a decentralized pattern of planning is advisable on sheer grounds of economy and efficiency.

III

But, in addition, there are two further points that are to be considered in the matter of centralization and decentralization in planning. First is the question of the degree of centralization in the drawing up of the plan. In the preceding discussion, it was tacitly assumed that a plan is drawn up by a centralized agency, and that decentralization only enters on the level of execution of the plan. But there is no reason to assume that a plan necessarily needs to be drawn up in a centralized fashion. A large part of each Five Year Plan in India has been drawn up in a fairly decentralized fashion, that is to say, that the various constituent States of the Indian Union were drawing up plans, and that it was the task of the Planning Commission primarily to find ways and means of balancing these plans against each other, amending them, and perhaps changing them in some detail so as to make them fit more adequately into one another. This is an

2. The need for a high degree of decentralization in the execution of otherwise rather rigid development plans has been recognized in Poland. With the establishment of an Economic Council of the Polish State in 1957, a set of new directives for industry was promulgated, according to which a much greater degree of freedom in the execution of centralized plans than before is given to the various enterprises. These directives are established in the interest of greater efficiency and the fuller exploitation of "economic expedients". For a more detailed description of this new system of planning administration in industry, see Edward Lipinsky, "Reform of the Economic Model", *Polish Perspectives*, Vol. I, No. 5 (September 1958), pp. 12-18.

example in which the actual drawing up of a plan has been done in a decentralized manner.

One of the questions that may be raised here is the following : What conditions tend to lead to decentralized planning for economic development? Several reasons may favour decentralized planning in India, and in order to show some of the conditions which make this alternative desirable, I shall cite two particular factors. The first is the fact that Indian economic planning is carried on in a society which is large and heterogeneous. This heterogeneity consists not only in the obvious distinction between an urban and a rural sector, but also in a sharp heterogeneity of geographical regions, of kinds of agricultural crops, and of linguistic differences. It is quite clear that in a country like India (and, for that matter, also in large and diversified countries like Russia or China, which have a common official, but different local, languages), the sheer natural differences in language, climate, and economic conditions call for a considerable degree of decentralization in the making and conception, as well as in the execution of a plan. This decentralization is necessary simply because often the particular needs that arise in a given region are peculiar to that region, and because planning which does not discriminate for such regional differences may lead to a number of difficulties, bottlenecks, and breakdowns. Hence, in a country in which differences of various kinds exist, the problem of introducing a high degree of decentralization in the drawing up and the implementation of an economic development plan is called for primarily because of factors of geography, social structure, and difficulties of communication owing to ethnic or linguistic differences.

The second case I wish to discuss, and which seems to favour decentralized as against centralized planning, is the prevalence of economic activities which require relatively large space. The case I am here particularly referring to is the case of agriculture. In a country in which a large proportion of total output is produced in agriculture, decentralized planning is preferable to centralization.

One of the significant features which makes agriculture distinctive from other forms of economic activity is the fact that agriculture is normally carried on in enterprises covering a relatively large area. The more an agricultural enterprise produces, the larger under a given technology is the geographical surface that is required. In other words, in agriculture—unlike in most industries—the size of the enterprise is highly correlated with its expansion in space. This creates a serious problem of communication. That is to say that in an industrial plant employing many thousands of workers, as, for example, the Tata Iron

Works in Jamshedpur, productive operations are carried on in a relatively concentrated fashion. But what is more important, a sizeable proportion of total national output can be produced by a few firms. For example, in as highly an industrialized a country as the United States, in the late 1930's, 3 firms produced 86 per cent of all automobiles, 3 firms produced 90 per cent of all tin cans, 4 firms produced 78 per cent of all copper, 2 firms produced 95 per cent of all plate glass, and 4 firms produced 64 per cent of all iron ore.³ This means that in many industrial branches, a very large proportion of the total output of a country can be produced in relatively few enterprises. In each of these enterprises, there is possibly a rather clear-cut system of internal organization. In other words, the pattern of communication, the levels in the hierarchy of decision-making, are highly concentrated and present a clearly discernible picture. Even though such an enterprise may employ many thousands of people, working closely with one another, the execution of the objectives of this enterprise can be achieved with a high degree of precision. Hence, we find that in large industrial enterprises, centralized planning is relatively easier, especially also because in these enterprises great importance is placed upon improving the internal organizational structure and perfecting a system of communications, and the flow of information and of commands up and down different levels of responsibility.

In agriculture this particular situation does not prevail. In part this is due to the fact that in most countries, even in many of the economically most advanced countries, the agricultural population is technologically and educationally more backward than the urban industrial population. But it is due chiefly to the fact that agriculture is, and by the nature of things must be, more dispersed. Since agricultural production requires large quantities of land, as compared with industry, any large-scale enterprise in agriculture will experience much greater difficulties in communication over relatively greater distances. Even if we could envisage an agricultural enterprise which produces as much as 5 per cent of the annual domestic output of any major crop, the cost of providing a smoothly functioning communication system for this enterprise would be extremely high and infinitely more cumbersome and inefficient than a communication system in an industrial firm which produces 50 per cent of the annual requirements of some important industrial product. This is the reason why agriculture will remain a branch of production in which many enterprises coexist, and even if a vigorous attempt is made to collectivize agriculture, the number of independent productive units in farming will remain large. But even in highly centralized agricultural enterprises, systems of

3. See David Lynch, *The Concentration of Economic Power*, New York, p. 117.

organization, communication, control, and internal allocation are much poorer and more imperfect than in comparable industrial firms. Hence, agricultural enterprises, no matter how highly centralized they may be, are below comparable industrial firms in administrative performance and efficiency. In addition, efficiency, especially in Asian agricultural enterprises, is below that in industrial firms, because of the already alluded to inferior degree of literacy of the rural population, because of the greater degree of traditionalism that prevails in rural, as compared with urban, areas, and because of a number of other factors which have their origin in the overall social structure, the survival of caste barriers and other features of village life.

There is some evidence that the imposition of a high degree of centralization in agricultural planning has had some adverse results on productivity. Let me cite two examples. In a recent study on the development of agriculture in the Ukraine between 1926 and 1955, it was found that "the productivity measures suggest. . . that there has been no increase, and possibly a decrease in general productivity in Ukrainian agriculture."⁴ This does not mean that agriculture in the Soviet Union as a whole has been stagnant, though it certainly has not progressed on a level commensurate with industry. But much of the increase has come from bringing into production virgin lands in new areas, and the overall improvement in an old agricultural region, like the Ukraine, has been slight or negligible.

It would lead too far beyond the scope of this (article) to go into a detailed account of this result which, certainly, will surprise many. I strongly suspect that the reason for it is partly bad planning and partly too high a degree of centralization in the development and execution of plans in Soviet agriculture. In more concrete terms, what happened was that capital was invested in agriculture according to a preconceived general formula, rather than according to the needs of the various regions or farm areas. This resulted in a general replacement of horses by tractors and other machines, but there was no significant increase in fertilizer consumption per acre, no important experimenting with better seeds, no large capital investment in storage facilities, etc. In other words, it is likely that better results might have been achieved, if instead of imposing a general highly centralized plan, allocations of funds had been made to the various collective farms or even to single farmers, with the injunction that specific output targets were to be met. The particular methods of meeting these targets should have been left to experienced farmers rather than to city

4. See A.G. Frank, "General Productivity in Soviet Agriculture and Industry: The Ukraine, 1928-1955", *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. LXVI, No. 6 (December 1958).

bureaucrats. Thus, it seems that a much greater degree of decentralization in planning of Ukrainian agriculture would have led to better results productivity-wise than the practice actually in force.

My second example comes from Poland. In a speech presented in October 1956 at the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, Mr. Gomulka, the Polish Prime Minister, had the following to say :

When estimating the value of overall production per hectare of arable land we arrive at the following picture : individual farms 621.1 zlotys, co-operative farms 517.3 zlotys, and State farms 393.7 zlotys.... This is, in brief, an outline of the economic picture of co-operative farms. It is a sad picture. In spite of great outlays they had smaller results and greater costs of production.⁵

It would be rash to draw the conclusion from these examples that planning of agricultural production is not desirable or is inevitably inefficient. But these experiences do seem to point to the fact that a high degree of centralization in agriculture is not necessarily conducive to the growth of productivity of farm production, and they even point in the direction that collectivization in agriculture may not produce the best results under all circumstances. Since there has been a good deal of interest in recent years in India in experiments in collectivization in Chinese agriculture, and since in some influential quarters the opinion has been expressed that agricultural co-operation in India is the most desirable policy, one should point to the result of the reflections presented in this article, which seem to indicate that much more careful weighing of alternatives is required before a final and definitive policy in this field is accepted. In other words, rather than deciding that a high degree of centralized planning is needed in order to improve agricultural productivity in a country like India, and rather than aping, without further reflection, the practices of China, a considerable amount of study of the actual needs and potentialities of agricultural production in India is required. Such study and research would reveal that in some places centralized planning is indeed desirable, that in some others decentralized planning is preferable, and again that in others (and this would, in the opinion of this writer, apply to most

5. Cited from Amlan Datta, *Essays on Economic Development*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 51. As a consequence of this failure of collectivization in Polish Agriculture, the Eighth Plenum promulgated a new agricultural policy for Poland, according to which peasants could again own their land in private ownership. As a consequence, out of over 10,000 agricultural co-operatives, not more than 1,800 survived by the end of 1957. See A.S., "Peasants Own Land", *Polish Perspectives*, Vol. I, No. 5 (September 1958), pp. 47-48.

agricultural areas of India), certain improvements in the labour and capital applied to agricultural production without collectivization and without inclusion of these sectors of the economy in any formal plan, is the preferred alternative.

IV

In conclusion, it may be fruitful to cast a glance at yet another problem, the relationship between centralization in planning and the difference between planning in breadth and planning in depth. I have made reference to this latter distinction in another place,⁶ but in brief, it may be explained as follows : by horizontal planning, or planning in breadth, is meant an economic policy in which regulatory activity is exercised on a broad basis, embracing a mass of specific rules for many minute transactions and forms of economic behaviour. A good example of horizontal planning is an economic plan in which detailed provisions are made for the outputs of various industries and plants, in which an extensive system of priorities and allocations of materials is instituted, and in which prices and conditions of exchange are minutely prescribed. In contrast, vertical planning, or planning in depth, is an economic policy in which regulatory activity is concentrated in a limited, often rather small number of spots which have crucial significance for a wide range of economic action.

In the present period, economic planning of some form is practiced in all countries, the United States and other economically advanced countries included. But in general, it can be observed that planning in depth is more characteristic of advanced countries, and planning in breadth of the economically less developed countries. In part this is due to differences in the skills, literacy, and educational standards of the populations of different countries, but in part it is also related to the social and political institutions of these countries. Planning in depth relies upon providing a framework in which freedom of action is guaranteed; whereas planning in breadth, by minutely prescribing forms and objectives of economic action, tends to develop in countries in which political and other freedoms are curtailed. Now, although decentralized planning and planning in depth are not identical, there are various similarities between these concepts, just as there are analogies between centralized planning and planning in breadth. This implies that a system of planning in depth, as well as a system of decentralized planning, is more adapted to a country in which democratic political values are appreciated. If the problem is seen in this

6. See Bert F. Hoselitz, "Economic Policy and Economic Growth", to be published in a *Social Science Research Council Bulletin*, 1959.

light, it seems that the path Indian planning must take is clear. In India, agriculture is of relatively great importance and is likely to remain of overwhelming importance for some time to come. India is one of the few countries of Asia in which democracy is a basic political form is generally accepted and is tending to become strengthened. Although the needs for industrialization are great, political wisdom would indicate that decentralized economic planning, coupled with the elaboration of planning techniques based on the fundamental acceptance of planning in depth, are the most appropriate policies for the Indian economy and the surest means of warranting the country's democratic future.

THE SANCTION BEHIND EXECUTIVE ORDERS

A. S. Misra

THE mutiny at Vellore was caused by an order of the Madras Army Headquarters that the soldiers at the parade shall not appear with their caste marks on their faces, that they shall not grow beards or flourish their moustaches. Thus ran the order :

“It is ordered by the Regulations that a native soldier shall not mark his face to denote his caste, or wear ear-rings when dressed in his uniform.

“And it is further directed that at all parades and upon all duties, every soldier of the battalion shall be clean-shaved on the chin.

“It is directed also that uniformity, as far as is practicable, be preserved in regard to the quantity and shape of the hair upon the upper lip.”

This regulation had of course to be rescinded, but only after the Indian sepoys had broken out into open revolt in which thirteen European officers and 80 British soldiers were killed. It occurred in July 1806 in the fort at Vellore, 80 miles from Madras.

THE DICTUM OF JOHN HUSS

This mutiny proves the truth of the dictum of a great saint who flourished in Europe in the fifteenth century. “The orders of the popes, emperors, kings, princes and other superior personages are not to be obeyed, unless they are *founded on evidence and reason*”. So wrote John Huss, the great Christian preacher who was burned at the stake in 1415 for fighting for the liberty of free worship and the freedom of religious tolerance.

Huss wrote these words in another context, but they are true in relation to orders of Government and Government officers, as they are true in every other sphere of life. A docile child will not obey the arbitrary orders of his parents for long, nor the pupil of his teacher nor the servant of his master. So between the ruler and the ruled or the Government and its employees. Now, if the orders of a Government and its officers are not habitually obeyed by its servants, the Government will cease to be an effective instrument of administration.

And thus it is that for the preservation of good and effective Government it is necessary that its decrees should be "founded on evidence and reason".

INSTANCES OF UNREASONABLE ORDERS

The more common instances of orders which are unreasonable and for that reason are disregarded are:

- (a) Asking for a report by a stated date which is about to expire or has already expired before the receipt of the order by the subordinate officer;
- (b) Asking for information within a much shorter period than would reasonably be taken in collecting it;
- (c) Ordering the clearance of arrears without supplementing the staff when the existing staff is unable even to cope with current work; and
- (d) Ordering any item of work to be completed within a few days when it is physically impossible to complete it even within a month.

That orders such as these would not be complied with would seem to be an axiomatic truth, nevertheless such orders are in fact issued every now and then. An officer applying his mind to the orders which he is signing will never issue such impracticable orders. It is only when things are done in a mechanical or routine way that such errors occur. The frequent issue of unreasonable orders causes a general tendency amongst the recipients to ignore them. Gradually, and by the force of habit, this tendency also begins to assert itself, unconsciously sometimes, in the compliance of reasonable and proper orders. There is the well-known story of the shepherd boy and the wolf.

ORDERS TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY A STATEMENT OF REASONS

We all know that every Bill brought before a legislative body is accompanied by a "statement of objects and reasons". This statement contains a recital of the existing position of the matter to which the Bill relates, the reasons why it is necessary to enact the measure and finally the objects which it is intended to secure. The orders of Government and of the officers acting under the authority of Government acquire a greater effectiveness if they are similarly drafted. By so doing the reader is taken into confidence and that confidence plays a great part in the implementation of the orders.

DISPOSAL OF REPRESENTATION

While on this point of confidence, it would be useful to refer to a matter on which government servants have a general grievance. Representations relating to their personal matters, *e.g.*, pay, promotion, disciplinary matters, are every now and then received from government servants. If they are accepted, well and good, but if they are rejected, the rejection has the appearance of an arbitrary order if, as generally happens, no indication of the reasons underlying the rejection is given in the communication sent to him. He, therefore, feels, and not unreasonably, that his case has not received full consideration and that it has been rejected on untenable grounds. The rise of such a feeling in him causes frustration and to that extent his utility as a government servant is diminished. Such an official will have little heart to comply with the orders of his officer in the day-to-day administration. And an increasing body of such officials will be a severe menace to the efficiency of government.

Allied with these cases are also the cases in which a government servant's case remains pending for long and occasions are not wanting when he receives no communication at all on the result of his representation.

WAYS AND MEANS

There is yet another requirement if full implementation of the orders is to be secured. It will not always do merely to state the reasons underlying the order—an indication ought also to be given of the ways and means of fulfilling the order, in the form of detailed instructions if the subject-matter demands such treatment. Without such advice on details, the order would be carried out in different ways by different officers leading to loss of cohesion and uniformity.

Then again the officers who have been required to undertake a job must be provided with the means of doing it, for example the funds and the machinery needed, unless these have already been placed at their disposal.

LANGUAGE OF ORDERS

Finally, and not the least important, is the point that the orders should be worded in polite language—language which would carry the impression that he from whom the order is emanating is no more than a collaborator in a common endeavour in which each one has as important a role to play as any other.

It is when all these conditions are fulfilled that an order could be said to be "founded on evidence and reason". It will then be most willingly obeyed, and in doing so everyone will feel the inherent dignity of work and the pleasure of co-operative effort, like a team of players in a sports match.

REASONABLENESS OF ORDERS

The question about the reasonableness of an order is one on which no formula can be laid down. In the disposal of a case there are many factors each having its own weight, and after weighing all these factors an order has to be passed. The interplay of these factors differs from case to case and it will always be a question for the judgment of the individual officers as to what would be the most reasonable order in all the circumstances of the case. There are, however, a few basic principles which can generally be kept in view in passing orders :

(1) The order should be passed keeping in view "the rule of the law". By this expression is meant the application of the same considerations in all cases of a similar kind. That would ensure that persons who have been affected by the orders would not complain of discriminatory treatment. For instance, it would not, generally speaking, be right to sanction special casual leave to say two or three assistants of an office and to refuse it in ten other similar cases. It may be that there are some special factors in the few cases in which special leave has been given, but it would not be possible to bring home these special reasons to the ten others who have been deprived of that concession. The ten assistants would then have the grievance that possibly for extraneous reasons their three colleagues have received favoured treatment. This is only a simple illustration of the "rule of the law", but it might help in applying the rule in more difficult cases.

(2) In passing an order the dignity and self-respect of the individual affected ought at all times to be maintained. For instance, if an erring official is to be warned, the warning should not be couched in unbecoming or harsh language. It is always possible to issue a warning in language which is both polite and courteous and if that is done, the warned official will not entertain any feeling of animosity towards his superior. The result would be just the opposite if even a well-intentioned warning is expressed in language which might be regarded as offensive from the point of view of the dignity of the individual.

(3) The order passed should have regard more for the larger interests of the public service than be related to personal interests of an individual. All Government servants are a sort of trustees of the 'State', and, therefore, in passing an order, the paramount consideration

must be the public interest. Provided that the condition of public interest is fulfilled, it may be possible to accommodate, in varying degrees, the personal interests of the affected persons. This may be illustrated by an example. Let us say, there is a question whether a certain office should be transferred from a district headquarters to a tehsil headquarters within the same district. The transfer would, of course, involve the officer in charge. Now, at a district headquarters there are certain amenities and some better facilities for education than are available at a tehsil headquarters. The transfer would, therefore, adversely affect the personal interests of the employees, but it is established that in the interests of the general public the office should be so transferred. In such circumstances the question of transfer should not be shelved merely to accommodate the personal interests of the employees concerned. So, let us say, an order to make the transfer has been passed. That having been done, it could be possible to accommodate the interests of the personnel to this extent that instead of making the transfer during the middle of the academic year the transfer is made at the close of that year so that the officials may be able to make arrangements for the further education of their wards. Such a case would be one in which the interests of the public service have been secured and to a limited extent also the interests of individual officials.

THE LARGER QUESTIONS

In this note the question about the compliance of orders has been discussed in the restricted sphere of obedience by government servants, be those orders of the Government, of a Head of a department or an officer in charge of district administration. There is also the larger question of the violation of the laws of the land by the people in general. That raises more vital issues and must be left for separate discussion. All that need be stated here is that, as between Government and government servants so between the 'State' and the people, reasonableness must be the determining factor for the orderly relations between the two. Thus, just as orders of Government to be effective must be based on reason and logic, so also all laws to be effective must be similarly based and ought also take into consideration the psychology of the human mind.

ROAD ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

R. A. Deshpande

IN a vast country like India which is known for its long distances and for the variety of its terrain and the modes of its transport, roads constitute one of the most important means of communications. At the present time we have a network of railways, a fast developing airways and a system of river transport, both traditional and modern, yet an advance in the manner and speed of transport has not detracted from the importance which roads occupy in our system of communications. In actual fact, the importance of roads is being realised all the more. Apart from pedestrians, roads cater for three types of vehicles in the country, viz., bicycles, bullock-carts and motor transport. The demand for bicycles rose from about 29,000 in 1912-13 to 2,60,000 in 1947-48. The Planning Commission has estimated that by 1960-61, 12,50,000 bicycles are required to be produced. Similarly, in 1943, there were about 8 million bullock-carts in the country. Today the number of carts in the country is estimated at about 10 million. The first motor vehicle appeared in this country in 1898; their number was 4,18,067 in 1955-56. The utility of the roads, therefore, cannot be minimised and in regard to its relative role our bullock-carts alone handle the same volume of freight as the railways.

The present road mileage in India is only 3,16,669 which is expected to go up to 3,79,000 miles at the end of the Second Five Year Plan. This mileage is admittedly inadequate for the needs of the country, particularly in view of the all-round development envisaged in the successive Five Year Plans. A comparison with other advanced countries will show how great is the leeway that has to be made up. For example, the road mileage per 100 square miles of area in some of the developed countries is:

U.K.	209
France	237
U.S.A.	111
Germany	95
Italy	89
Ceylon	70
India	22

The above statistics reveal the extent to which we are deficient in respect of road mileage alone. If we add to it other deficiencies

such as poor proportion of surfaced roads, the need to provide modern surfaces on them, lack of bridges, lack of proper geometric design and lack of two-lane carriage ways on the National Highways, the picture becomes all the more gloomy.

A country-wide road development programme which will provide within a reasonable distance of time, sufficient communication facilities for the country's economic needs, particularly the needs of rural areas, is therefore necessary. A new all-India Road Plan is therefore being formulated by the Chief Engineers under the auspices of the Indian Roads Congress for the next twenty years after the Second Five Year Plan, the salient features of which are as under:

- (1) No village should be more than 3 miles from a metalled road;
- (2) No village should be more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from an unmetalled road;
- (3) Every town with a population of 2000 in the plains, 1000 in semi-hilly areas and 500 in hilly areas, should be connected by metalled road;
- (4) All industrial and development centres, places of pilgrimage, places of historical importance, places of excursion for tourists and health resorts should be covered by metalled roads;
- (5) All administrative units of a district such as tehsil headquarters, police outpost, etc., should be inter-connected and connected to district headquarters which, in turn, should be connected to adjacent district headquarters.

For the execution of such a gigantic road plan, it is necessary that there should be adequate administrative machinery at all levels. In this article an attempt is therefore made to study the existing administrative set-up and suggest suitable changes, where necessary, in order to equip it to execute such a big development plan.

II

The importance of the development of land communications has been recognised in India from early times. During the early days of the British period, *i.e.*, before the development of railways, a number of trunk roads were constructed for administrative and strategic purposes. But soon the emphasis shifted to railway development and roads were considered to be of local importance. So, in the various provinces, planning, construction and maintenance of roads were left to local

bodies in varying degrees. Poor resources and lack of co-ordinated development was the result and the construction of roads received a setback. Even trunk roads were allowed to fall into a state of disrepair.

After the first world war the motor vehicles came to use the Indian roads and this led to a growing public demand for a better system of roads in India. The Indian Roads Development Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1927-28 came to the conclusion that road development of India was passing beyond the financial capacity of provinces and was becoming a national interest, which might, to some extent, be a proper charge on Central revenues. As recommended by the Committee, a Central Road Fund was constituted with effect from 1st March, 1929, to assist States in financing their road development schemes.

The Government of India convened a conference of Provincial and State Chief Engineers at Nagpur in the year 1943 to consider the problem of post-war road development in India. This Conference made two very important recommendations. The first was that the roads in India should be divided into four classes, namely, National Highways, State Highways, District Roads and Village Roads. The National Highways were defined as highways running through the length and breadth of India connecting major ports, foreign highways and capitals of States. They were to provide the framework for the country's road system. Provincial and State Highways would be the main arteries of commerce by roads within a province. District roads would be the main branches from the National or State Highways and would take traffic into the interior of each district or similar unit of areas. Village roads would be, in essence, farm tracks but their construction and maintenance was to follow a designated and regulated pattern. The second recommendation of the Conference was that the Centre should assume complete financial liability for the development and maintenance of National Highways and that it should have an effective say in the use and control of these highways. This recommendation accorded with the practice in other countries which had developed a good Highway administration. After taking into account the finances available, the Government of India accepted with effect from 1st April, 1947, complete financial liability for the development and maintenance of the National Highways. According to the National Highways Act of 1956 the responsibility to develop and maintain all existing National Highways has been entrusted to the Central Government. Power is also vested in the Central Government to declare, by notification, any other important highways as National Highways. Power is also given to the Central Government to enter

into agreements with the State Governments or municipal authorities with respect to the development or maintenance of National Highways.

III

The administration of roads in India may be divided into three classes :

National Highways	—in charge of the Central Government.
State Roads	—under the State Governments.
Local Roads	—in charge of local bodies.

Each of these are examined below in greater detail.

National Highways : The total milage of roads in the present national highway system is about 13,800. The development, construction and maintenance of all National Highways is the responsibility of the Central Government. But the Central Government does not maintain them through its own agency and it has entered into agreements with the State Governments for their development and maintenance. The normal agency for the execution of the work on these highways is the respective State Public Works Department, but the Centre has the freedom to entrust the work to any other agency. The Central Government keeps a close watch on the execution, maintenance and development of these roads through the Roads Wing of the Ministry of Transport by attaching Engineer-Liaison Officers to each State. This would roughly correspond to the Bureau of Public Roads in U.S.A. which is an agency of the Federal Government to administer the federal funds for the construction of highways in the various States. Compared to the needs and the limited functions of the Central Government in respect of National Highways, the existing administrative set-up of inspection and supervision appears to be quite adequate to the needs.

The twin defects in the prevailing system of financing road development are, first, the funds are uncertain and, secondly, they are inadequate. A certain continuity in the supply of funds is essential, if wasteful expenditure is to be avoided and programmes are to be pursued without interruption. There already exists the Central Road Fund which is supplying funds in a limited way. The Taxation Enquiry Commission has recommended that similar Road Funds should be created in each State for ensuring continuous and speedy road development. Instead of multiplying the organisations in various States, it would be administratively desirable that the organisation is centralised and the funds channelised to the respective States, according to their respective needs and urgency. Hence a Road Finance Corporation

jointly financed by the Centre and States may be established replacing the existing Central Road Fund and State Road Funds. It should have authority to issue the Government guaranteed loans to a certain specified limit. The Corporation should also receive annual allotment from the Central and State Governments. Such a Corporation can guarantee the continuity of funds for the development of roads without any break.

State Roads under State Governments : The roads under the charge of the State Governments are State Highways and other important roads, in addition to the construction and maintenance of National Highways. The administration of roads in almost all the States except that of Madras and Andhra Pradesh is entrusted to the composite Public Works Department which also deals with Irrigation and Buildings, and Public Health. Although there is a separate Chief Engineer at the top level for Irrigation and Roads independently, the administration as a whole is conducted by one Department. In view of the magnitude and intensity of the work involved in implementing a Road Development programme, it is necessary that there should be one unified and co-ordinated agency charged with the work of Road Administration. A composite department like the Public Works Department cannot pay adequate specialised attention to every branch to the extent required and it is therefore absolutely essential that there should be a separate Highways Department in each State as in Madras and Andhra Pradesh. This Highways Department should handle the construction, maintenance and management of all roads in the State. Highway engineering is no longer a guess work for engineers. It is a highly scientific branch of engineering and requires considerable skill and knowledge both in design and execution. To mention some of the aspects of highway engineering, there are surveys, both geological and geodetic and sometimes aerial surveys, soil surveys, pavement designs, river training, etc. Specialist engineers are required to deal with these various branches of highway engineering. Unless a well organised Government Department like the Highways Department is established, people are liable to miss the benefit of modern developments in highway engineering.

As the administration of the roads is intimately connected with the administration of the road transport, it is necessary that the activities of both these branches should be co-ordinated at all levels. This can be best done by establishing a "Highway Board" in each State just on the lines of the "Railway Board" comprising of the following members :

1. Chief Engineer of Highways,

2. Chairman of the State Road Transport, and
3. Motor Transport Controller.

The Chief Engineer should be the Head of the Department in charge of the administration of roads and the Department should be further divided into Zones, Circles, Divisions and according to the total area of the State and placed in charge of the Officers of the Department as shown below:

Zones

(area—16 Districts)	In charge of the Deputy Chief Engineers.
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Circles

(area—8 Districts)	In charge of Superintending Engineers.
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Divisions

(area—2 Districts)	In charge of Executive Engineers.
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Further, there should be a central Designs Organisation at the State level for the preparation of Designs, etc., and attached directly to the Chief Engineer. Similarly, there should also be a central Store Purchasing Organisation directly under the Chief Engineer, which should be specially entrusted with the duty of procuring and supplying materials and stores required by the Executive Officers. The Executive Officers should be relieved of the duties of procuring materials and stores in order to allow them to concentrate all their energies on the execution of the works.

Similarly, there should be Special Projects Divisions, attached to the Circle Offices, charged with the work of investigations, surveying and preparing plans and estimates of the road projects, so that the Executive Officers will be relieved of this work and they can fully concentrate on the execution of the road works.

Roads in charge of Local Bodies : The roads in charge of the local bodies are :

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Major District Roads | } In charge of District Local Boards. |
| 2. Other District Roads | |
| 3. Village Roads | |
| 4. City Roads | In charge of Municipalities. |
| 5. Village Roads | In charge of Gram Panchayats. |

The existing milage of roads in charge of the District Local Boards is quite substantial and they cover the entire rural area. The Local Boards neither possess the requisite funds nor resources to administer these roads efficiently. They lack technical personnel and being

small Boards, catering for each District, cannot establish efficient organisation to look after these roads. It has been the common experience that roads in charge of the local bodies are not maintained properly and with the result that the condition of the rural roads is very bad. In order to improve this situation it is necessary that all roads should be maintained by Government through one agency. It is an accepted fact that unified control is an essential requirement for the efficient administration in any branch. It is therefore desirable that the administration of roads should be entrusted to one agency and the local board organisations in respect of roads should be abolished and all roads entrusted to one Department.

In fact, the whole question of the relationship between the State Government and local bodies in respect of the administration of roads needs also to be reviewed. The transfer of some of these roads to the local bodies was the legacy of the old order, when Local Self-Government was looked upon as a democratic concession wrung from an autocratic Government of the country and consequently the relationship between the Provincial authority and the local bodies was used to be looked upon as an issue between popular and despotic control. But with the independence of the country the position has been completely changed as the higher rungs of the administration have been democratised and the old conception about Local Self-Government is obsolete. This does not mean that the local authorities should have no administrative powers in respect of roads. But certainly the time has come to review the present dual administration of the roads by local bodies on the one hand and by the Public Works Department on the other, in the wider interests of unity and efficiency of the administration.

Of course, local municipalities would be allowed to maintain internal roads within a city or town and the village panchayats can accordingly be permitted to maintain village roads which should not exceed 10 miles in total. But these should also be subject to the supervisory ambit of the Highways Department, in order to ensure that these roads are maintained properly.

With a view to promoting, guiding and co-ordinating research in India, there is a Road Research Committee under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. There is also the Central Road Research Institute at New Delhi. Similar Research Laboratories and Institutes are also functioning in several States. But there are still some States where laboratories have not yet been set up. It is essential that these States have such laboratories as early as possible. It is also necessary that activities of all the Research organisations in the country

should be co-ordinated. The Central Road Research Institute should, therefore, be transformed into a premier co-ordinating Research Institute for the country as a whole.

Until the year 1934, in India there was no forum for exchange of professional experience and ideas on matters affecting the construction and maintenance of roads, for laying down standards and specifications, and for pooling and disseminating the experience and knowledge of those engaged in the practice of highway engineering. It was in the year 1934 that the idea of a common forum took concrete shape and the Indian Roads Congress came into existence. Its membership includes highway engineers of all ranks from Central and State Governments, Military Engineering Services and business concerns associated with highway engineering. The Roads Congress has evolved and published several standard specifications. It has also built up a very efficient and up-to-date lending library service. It publishes a periodical Journal and monthly Review of Transport and Communications. During the past several years, it has organised a technical exhibition at each General Session of the Congress. In 1958, the E.C.A.F.E. arranged a seminar on "Low Cost Roads" in collaboration with the I.R.C. At present it is assisting the Chief Engineers in the preparation of a Revised Road Plan for the whole country. The Indian Roads Congress and the Roads Wing of the Transport Ministry have, between themselves, helped to bring out prominently the need for developing an efficient highway system designed and built to meet the growing transport needs of the country.

IV

With the present tempo of the country's development projects, shortage of experienced engineers of different categories to fully man the various projects is being keenly felt. This shortage is natural when the number and magnitude of works now desired to be executed in the course of a year far exceed what we would formerly have thought of executing even in twenty years. It is, therefore, very necessary that we should so equip our engineers that they are able to execute successfully the projects that they may be called upon to handle. Adoption of suitable measures to that end should therefore be considered.

There are two ways of achieving this: first, by exchange of officers between different States so that the knowledge and experience gained in one part of the country is shared by engineers hailing from other parts of the country; and, second, by compiling and publishing proper records of the various phases of projects undertaken and completed.

All projects and parts of the country have their peculiarities and problems. A knowledge of the manner in which different parts of the country are successfully tackling their problems widens one's outlook and helps in the evolution of simpler and more economical methods by a synthesis of experiences and practices of different parts of the country. In this connection a suggestion made by Shri K.K. Nambiar in his Presidential Address to the Twentieth Session of the Indian Roads Congress during the year 1956 for the creation of an Indian Service of Highway Engineers is worth considering. India being a land of endless variety and change, officers should be given reasonable opportunities to serve for a few years outside their native States in order to enrich their experience to the greater benefit of the science and practice of highway engineering in the country.

We are eager to send our young men for training abroad, but seldom entertain the idea of sending them for training to other parts of the country itself, beyond casual visits of a couple of days. In certain respects the training that the country can afford in the technique and execution of projects is far more useful and practical than the training that can be obtained in the highly mechanised Western countries. Short visits to works in different parts of the country, though useful up to a point, cannot be a substitute for the experience and knowledge that can be gained by actual detailed study of the projects at site during different phases of investigation, designing, planning and construction.

This training can be very much simplified and made more effective by placing the knowledge within the reach of all by compiling and publishing complete records of the projects executed. Such records serve as useful guides, both for engineers and Governments, for proper planning and execution of future projects. As a matter of fact, not only do such records serve as guides, but they help in future projects being planned and executed far more economically and expeditiously than would otherwise be possible without the data that the records of completed projects can provide.



A NOTE

INTEGRITY IN PUBLIC OFFICE

[Beginning with this issue, the Journal will contain a Note on a selected contemporary administrative problem. The Note may occasionally extend over more than one issue of the Journal.—Ed.]

THE SHERMAN ADAMS CASE IN THE UNITED STATES

THAT in a democracy, holders of public offices must not only be above reproach, but must act in such a way that they are also immune from suspicion, was amply brought out last Summer by the investigations of the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight of the U.S. House of Representatives into the conduct of Mr. Sherman Adams, the Assistant to the U.S. President and chief of the White House staff (with \$22,500-a-year salary). Mr. Adams, 59, a former Member of the New Hampshire Legislature for two terms, a Member of U.S. House of Representatives for one term, had helped Mr. Dwight Eisenhower to win the presidential primary in New Hampshire in 1952 against Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, was his floor manager at the Chicago Republican convention for presidential elections and became the chief of the presidential staff when Mr. Eisenhower took office. After Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Adams was the most powerful man in the Administration, "the guardian of the integrity that Ike had always promised, the man of stern incorruptibility who threw out Government appointees of high rank at the first whiff of scandal". "Adams was the man who decried the influence peddling of the Truman Administration, the stern moralist who had banished Republicans from the Administration at the first hint of errant behaviour, the walking book of ethics dedicated to keep the Eisenhower Administration spotless, as Candidate Eisenhower put it in 1952, 'clean as a hound's tooth'." Mr. Adams was also the man who in 1956 called a meeting of the White House staff for purposes of tightening up general rules of personal conduct with a view to providing against the fear of Democrats trapping the White House by planting a scandal during the 1956 election campaign. As the former President Truman said, after Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Adams virtually ran the Administration.

The charge against Mr. Adams, investigated by the House Subcommittee, presided over by Mr. Oren Harris (Dem.) of Arkansas, was that he had accepted expensive gifts and hospitality from Mr. Bernard Goldfine, a New England textile manufacturer and real estate dealer, and had interceded with the federal government regulatory agencies in cases involving Mr. Goldfine, as a result of which the latter had received preferred treatment from these agencies.

The valuable gifts and hospitality accepted by Mr. Adams included: a vicuna coat reported to cost \$700; an Oriental rug valued at \$2,400; and payment of hotel bills at the Waldorf-Astoria, N.Y.C., the Sheraton-Plaza Hotel in Boston, and the Mayflower Hotel in Plymouth, Mass., totalling in all about \$3,096 for occasional stay there during the period December 1953-

May 1958. In return for the gifts and hospitality, Mr. Adams was alleged to have attempted to influence federal agencies in favour of Mr. Goldfine as follows :

- (1) On December 30, 1953, Mr. Adams phoned up Mr. Edward F. Howrey, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, to find out the source of a complaint lodged with the Commission that certain of the fabrics produced by a textile firm of Mr. Goldfine were misleadingly labelled—putting a “90% wool, 10% vicuna” label on cloth that actually contained some nylon. The memorandum of reply which was sent by the Chairman to Mr. Adams contained the name of the complainant the public disclosure of which was prohibited by law and stated that if adequate assurances were given that labelling would be corrected—the case could be closed on a “voluntary co-operative basis”. The information contained in the memorandum was passed on to Mr. Goldfine by Mr. Adams. F.T.C. officials overruled the recommendations of an attorney, in its wool labelling division, that the Goldfine textile company be prosecuted for mislabelling its fabrics.
- (2) On April 14, 1955, when Mr. Goldfine was being investigated again on the same charge, Mr. Adams got him an appointment to meet Chairman Howrey.
- (3) In 1956, Mr. Adams got White House Counsel Morgan to ask why a Goldfine real estate company, the East Boston Co., was under investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission. The reply from the Securities and Exchange Commission was for non-compliance with the regulations of the Securities and Exchange Commission in regard to publishing of financial reports. The file of the East Boston Company was brought down to the White House for examination by an S.E.C. man.

Mr. Adams, appearing before the Subcommittee at his own request on June 17, 1958, explained that the gifts and hospitality accepted by him were as a matter of long personal and private friendship lasting over the last twenty years or so; the cost of the cloth of the vicuna coat to the mill was about \$69 only; the Oriental rug was on loan; and the hotel bills were for his stay overnight during his journeys between Washington D.C. and his home in New Hampshire on the understanding that Mr. Goldfine's company had a continuing arrangement for hotel accommodation. Mr. Adams stated that he had also once given Mr. Goldfine a goldwatch as a gift and Mrs. Adams had painted a picture for the Goldfines. The exchange of gifts between the two families was purely on the basis of friendship. Further, Mr. Goldfine's friendship had in no way affected his official conduct; the enquiries made by him from the Federal Trade Commission and Securities Exchange Commission were purely of a routine character, designed to seek information only and not for purposes of influencing their conduct. Mr. Adams asked the Committee : “Is there any member of the Committee or the Congress....who has not made an appointment at the request of some individual who found himself concerned with some agency or activity in the Government? Is there any member of this Committee or of the Congress who is willing to stand and say that, by virtue of making that appointment or making that inquiry, that his vote was affected on any public question? Mr. Chairman, I believe that the President has appointed

able men to independent agencies of our Government, and I think to say that a request or call or an inquiry for information would have the result of influencing the decision of a person who serves on one of those commissions is, I must say, a reflection on his competency and character"...Mr. Adams added "Quite obviously, I have tried to differentiate between the requests which seemed to me proper and those that seemed to be improper, and there are points beyond which, quite obviously, I thought that neither I nor my associates in the staff of the President ought not to go, and that has quite obviously subjected me and the staff, I might add, to some criticism in that regard". Mr. Adams further said that he did not know that information contained in Chairman Howrey's memorandum was confidential and it was not proper to divulge it. (The White House Press Secretary, Mr. Hagerty, denied on June 18 that the information passed on by Mr. Adams was confidential in as much as it had already become public information many weeks before Mr. Howrey's memorandum was sent to Mr. Adams.) Again, even after Mr. Adams' fixing an appointment for Mr. Goldfine, the latter's companies were served with 'cease and desist' orders for reasons of label violations.

On the question whether Mr. Goldfine did actually benefit in any way from his relations with any branch of the Federal Government because he was a friend of his, Mr. Adams said "I know of no action requested or taken by me or by any member of my staff with any Government official that has resulted in any benefit to him that he could not have received had he gone directly to the agency involved and he and I had been complete strangers". As regards the propriety, as a public official, of accepting gifts from a friend, Mr. Adams stated : "I am not insensitive to interpretations that it is possible to place upon a situation that involves my relationship with a friend who becomes involved, advertently or inadvertently, with matters in public agencies....that in the five and a half years that I have been at my post, I have never permitted any personal relationship to affect in any way any actions of mine in matters relating to the conduct of my office. If, Mr. Chairman, on the contrary, I have in any way so conducted myself as to cast any semblance of doubt upon such conduct, I can only say that the error was one of judgment and certainly not of intent". Questioned about the interpretations which would naturally be attached to calls from the White House by members of federal regulatory agencies who were appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate later, Mr. Adams agreed that it was desirable for the staff of the President to refrain from doing anything which might possibly lead to such interpretations and that if he were to make the decisions again, he would have acted "a little more prudently".

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President Eisenhower, at a White House news conference on June 18, 1958, said that "anyone who knows Sherman Adams has never had any doubt of his personal integrity and honesty. No one has believed that he could be bought; but there is a feeling or belief that he was not sufficiently alert in making certain that the gifts, of which he was the recipient, could be so misinterpreted as to be considered as attempts to influence his political actions. To that extent he has been, as he stated yesterday, 'imprudent'....

"I personally like Governor Adams. I admire his abilities. I respect him because of his personal and official integrity. I need him....

"Admitting the lack of that careful prudence in this incident that Governor Adams yesterday referred to, I believe with my whole heart that he is an invaluable public servant doing a difficult job efficiently, honestly and tirelessly".

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On June 26, 1958, Mr. John Fox, (a Boston Lawyer and the former publisher of the defunct *Boston Post*, and a former friend of Mr. Goldfine turned into an enemy on the latter's calling back loans to the *Post*, who had originally put the House Sub-committee investigators on to the Goldfine-Adams relationship), testified under oath before the Subcommittee that he had heard Mr. Goldfine boast that Mr. Adams would "take care" of his trouble with the Federal Trade Commission; that Mr. Goldfine had told him over a period of many years that he had helped Mr. Adams financially and very materially and that he had bought interests in various ventures for Mr. Adams and also bought a house for him in Washington D.C. These accusations by Mr. Fox were branded as "malicious and deliberate falsehoods", by Mr. Adams the same day; Mr. Adams also criticized the Subcommittee for permitting "a completely irresponsible witness to use the Committee as a forum for making such vicious accusations".

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Mr. Goldfine, appearing before the House Subcommittee from July 2 to 17, testified under oath, that he had never asked Mr. Adams "to do anything out of line, and he never did anything for me that was out of line". Describing Mr. Adams as one of his "dearest friends" for nearly 20 years, Mr. Goldfine pointed out that he did not get any preferred treatment from the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission as a result of Mr. Adams' asking for certain information. He admitted that the hotel bills paid for Mr. Adams and the cost of the Oriental rug and some other gifts had been charged as business expenses of certain Goldfine-controlled companies. He explained that the rug had been purchased from the Macy's for the showroom in Boston and loaned out to Mr. Adams so that later he could probably point out to his customers "This rug used to be in Governor Adams house". (Under the federal tax code if a gift is to qualify as a deductible expense it must involve some expectation of return, either tangible or intangible. Mr. Hagerty, the White House Press Secretary, reported later that Mr. Adams had neither charged off his presents to Mr. Goldfine as tax deduction nor had he counted the gifts as income on his tax returns.) Mr. Goldfine also admitted that he had sent treasurer's cheques at Christmas time to 33 present and former Federal employees, including employees of the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission and two present White House employees (Miss Laura G. Sherman, second secretary to Mr. Adams, and Mrs. Hellen Cole, now attached to the President's appointments secretary); that he had paid hotel bills of \$675 for Senator Fredrick Payne (Maine), and of \$340 and \$182 for New Hampshire's Republican Senator Norris Cotton and Senator Style Bridges respectively; and that he had entered these items, together with his

gifts to Mr. Adams as "business expenses" on his income tax returns. He repeatedly refused to answer questions about certified treasurer's or cashier's cheques totalling \$776,879 which had been issued to him or his companies by State or National banks since 1941 but had remained uncashed. (Treasurer's cheques are issued by a State Bank, while cashier's cheques are issued by a National Bank. Both types are signed by bank officials and payable by the bank itself; the name of the individual purchasing such cheques does not appear on them and thus remains "masked" or "concealed".) The Subcommittee's counsel suggested that the uncashed cheques might have been used for the benefit of public officials or employees serving as collateral for any such use. However, because of his refusal to produce his records on these cheques (on the ground that the question was not relevant to the inquiry), the House of Representatives voted on August 13, on the Subcommittee's recommendation, that Mr. Goldfine should be cited for contempt of Congress.

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The hearings before the Subcommittee aroused a bitter political controversy. The nation as a whole recalled President Eisenhower's statement of May 4, 1958, in which he had proudly proclaimed: "If anyone ever comes to any part of this Government...claiming some privilege...on the basis that he is part of my family or of my friends, that he has any connection with the White House, he is to be thrown out instantly. I can't believe that anybody on my staff would ever be guilty of an indiscretion. But if ever anything came to my attention of that kind, any part of this Government, that individual would be gone". In the face of this declaration many felt that in not removing Mr. Adams from his office President Eisenhower had compromised the basic principles on the arguable but shifting ground that he was indispensable to the White House—a compromise which was likely to have adverse repercussions on the forthcoming November elections to Congress.

The pressure for Mr. Adams' resignation continued to increase and Mr. Adams resigned on September 22. In his letter to Mr. Adams accepting his resignation, the President paid tribute to Mr. Adams' 'selfless and tireless devotion to the work of the White House', thought that his 'total dedication to the nation's welfare has been of the highest possible order' and that he had the President's 'complete trust, confidence and respect'. Mr. Adams in a broadcast, announcing his resignation, explained that he had not resigned earlier because, "since I have done no wrong, my resigning could have been construed as an admission that I had, in the atmosphere which surrounded the controversy". However, in the light of the events of the preceding three months, Mr. Adams now felt that his further retention in office might 'conceivably delay or retard, even in small degree, the achievement of the goals of President Eisenhower, which yet were ahead and might possibly diminish the chances which the Republican party had of regaining control of Congress in the November elections.

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In the elections to the U.S. Congress in November 1958, the Democrats won a sweeping victory; they gained the biggest majorities in both

Houses since the "New Deal" days. It is impossible to assess how far the Sherman Adams case was responsible for the Republican defeat; all that can be said is that in the judgment of many in retaining Mr. Adams the President had compromised his oft-proclaimed deep sense of public ethics and that the Sherman Adams case had had adverse repercussions on the November elections.

As against this there were the President's reasons for hesitating to relieve Mr. Adams. The President had explained these in his news conference of June 18, 1958, as follows:

"The circumstances surrounding the innocent receipt by a public official of any gift are...important, so that the public may clearly distinguish between innocent and guilty action. ...Among these circumstances are the character and reputation of the individual, the record of his subsequent actions, and evidence of intent or lack of intent to exert undue influence." The President added "I have never said anything except that I expect the highest possible standards, not only of conduct but of appearance of conduct".

The President also observed :

"First, as a result of this entire incident, all of us in America should have been made aware of one truth—this is that a gift is not necessarily a bribe. One is evil, the other is a tangible expression of friendship.

"Almost without exception, everybody seeking public office accepts political career. Yet we do not make a generality that these gifts are intended to color the later official votes, recommendations and actions of the recipients. In the general case, this whole activity is understood, accepted and approved".... "I think there is no possible way in which elected officials can be called to account except by their own conscience, their own consciousness of good or evil intent except only when they do something that outrages either the legal bounds that are set for us or, let's say, the public opinion in the United States."

In U.S.A., "Much of the mail and time of members of Congress is devoted to the requests of constituents about matters concerning which they, the constituents, are dealing with the administrative agencies of the government. In countries dominated by civil servants, such as... Germany and to a lesser degree Great Britain, any intervention by legislators in such administrative matters is severely discouraged".¹ "No Senator or Representative has been discovered who does not affirmatively state, for the record if possible, that he feels it his duty to provide the maximum service to his constituents as individuals. There is at present no observable tendency to discourage constituents from coming to legislators for help. The reference function is firmly established."² "For these reasons, the intervention of legislators corrects injustices in a large number of cases and also helps to check tendencies of administrators towards personal and class aggrandizement."....

1. Paul H. Douglas, *Ethics in Government*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 85.

2. Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, *Ethical Standards in Government*, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951, p. 28.

"Furthermore, the accumulation of individual complaints gives legislators an insight into the weaknesses of certain laws and suggests needed changes."³

* * *

The following extracts from the report on "Ethical Standards in Government", of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare which submitted its report to U.S. Congress in 1951, will be of interest:

"The line between the proper and improper begins to be less certain when one looks for a consensus of opinion as to favours, gifts, gratuities, and services. The exchanging of gifts and favors is reported to be rather general in the business community. What is it proper to offer public officials, and what is it proper for them to receive? A cigar, a box of candy, a modest lunch (usually to continue discussing unfinished business)? Is anyone of these improper? It is difficult to believe so. They are usually a courteous gesture, an expression of goodwill, or a simple convenience, symbolic rather than intrinsically significant. Normally they are not taken seriously by the giver nor do they mean very much to the receiver. At the point at which they do begin to mean something, however, do they not become improper? Even small gratuities can be significant if they are repeated and come to be expected. But here, too, convention must be considered: gifts to school teachers are now generally forbidden by law, but a Christmas-time present for the postman, usually on engraved green paper, is almost as well established as holly.

"Expensive gifts, lavish or frequent entertainment, paying hotel or travel costs, valuable services, inside advice as to investments, discounts and allowances in purchasing are in an entirely different category. They are clearly improper. On this, there is substantial agreement in the governmental community, and any one who thinks them proper must have already lost his perspective. The difficulty comes in drawing the line between the innocent or proper and that which is designing or improper. At the moment a doubt arises as to propriety, the line should be drawn. Innocence is perhaps lost when one is conscious that it exists."⁴....

"Wherever a public official has discretionary power to make decisions the terms of which are of great concern to individual businesses or to groups of businesses, he must be on his guard against being unduly influenced. For example, a contracting officer and his family may be drawn into a social programme of dinners, parties, golf, and other social engagements by a contractor or his agents. If this continues, it makes the contracting officer and the contractor, members of the same social circle. Even if the engagements are purely social, the official may find it hard to be completely detached when it comes to handling official business with his new friend. If business matters are discussed during social engagements, complete objectivity becomes more difficult still"⁵.

3. Paul H. Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

4. Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

"It is a wise policy for a civil servant to avoid any extensive social involvement with persons who are not naturally part of his circle of friends. If persons seeking to do business with the Government suddenly hunger for his companionship in his off-duty hours, a man would seem to be justified in going a little slow. If the public official is not in a position to return social courtesies on the scale they are extended to him, it is an additional argument for caution. It is embarrassing to be obligated, even socially, to persons towards whom one must act with complete impartiality."⁶

"Appearance as well as reality must be considered. Even though a public official is not influenced by favours in his attitude towards the donor's official business, if it might seem to an observer that the recipient would be influenced, the gift becomes improper. It is not to the public interest that the integrity of officials should be suspected. The effect of the example on other employees and on other members of the public is also to be considered."⁷

Mr. Paul H. Douglas, who was the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee mentioned above, has in his book 'Ethics in Government' made similar observations as follows:

"Today the corruption of public officials by private interests takes a more subtle form. The enticer does not generally pay money directly to the public representative. He tries instead by a series of favours to put the public official under such a feeling of personal obligation that the latter gradually loses his sense of mission to the public and comes to feel that his first loyalties are to his private benefactors and patrons. What happens is a gradual shifting of a man's loyalties from the community to those who have been doing him favours. His final decisions are, therefore, made in response to his private friendships and loyalties rather than to the public good. Throughout this whole process, the official will claim—and may indeed believe—that there is no casual connection between the favours he has received and the decisions which he makes. He will assert that the favours were given and received on the basis of pure friendship unsullied by worldly considerations."⁸

The gifts "may begin in a very innocent form such as the offer of a cigar.".... "From a cigar, however, the gifts lead on to a box of cigars, to a bottle of whisky, and to a case of liquor. From there, the gifts move on to encompass the "little wife", starting with a mouton coat, then progressing to a mink coat, and finally reaching the heights of the 'natural royal pastle mink coat, worth \$9,500 which was given to the wife of E. Merle Young, the man from Missouri who was reputed to have so much influence with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation."⁹

6. Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

8. Paul H. Douglas, *Ethics in Government*, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

CORRESPONDENCE

PLANNING FOR A REGION

The Editor,
I.J.P.A.

Sir,

Shri K.D.N. Singh in his recent impressive article in your *Journal* on "Planning for a Region", (Vol. IV, No. 3, July-September 1958) has examined various concepts and kinds of organisation for regional planning in the U.S.A. with a view to consider whether such experience could be profitably applied in this country. He has made an interesting suggestion which, briefly stated, postulates that planning has become, for the most part, a centralised function and the Planning Commission exercises very considerable authority over the plans of the various States, and avers that while the Zonal Councils have created a basic regional organisation within the framework of provincial autonomy, it must be considered a loose inter-State compact for the solution of such inter-State problems as may arise from time to time. He, therefore, suggests that an intermediate planning agency under the Zonal Councils may be created as Regional Planning Commissions and given such powers as to enable them to ensure that their recommendations are given effect to by the various States, the Zonal Planning Commission to be composed of one representative of each of the component States with the same number being appointed by the Planning Commission, one of the latter being the Chairman of the Zonal Commission. Such an organisation is suggested to ensure an overall approach to the problems of the regions, their activities being directed

towards general policy planning but not to become responsible for detailed execution. They would conduct comprehensive investigation into the physical resources of their regions, formulate broad regional plans of which the State plans would form an integral part, in respect of various developmental items such as industries, agriculture, communications, water and land resources and the like; to exercise general supervision over the plans which would be executed in the various States such as the Planning Commission does today; and thereafter to evaluate and review the State plans and programmes so as to ensure that its recommendations and plans are actually carried into effect in order to achieve co-ordination aimed at uniform regional development.

The suggestion looks attractive, but it is debatable whether such regional commissions would actually help to advance or would retard the processes of planning at the present stage of development in India. Discussion of such organisational matters in respect of the planning machinery would, it seems, be a matter of merely academic interest until the end of the Third Five Year Plan period. Shri Rana has himself referred to the various questions which the suggestion would raise, e.g., the relation between the Central Planning Commission and the Zonal Commissions, the question of delegation and decentralisation of the planning functions to enable Zonal Commissions to function as a useful intermediate agency between the States and the Planning Commission; he recognises that the regional plans

would have to be split up into State plans for the purpose of actual implementation, and that there may be some degree of conflict between the Zonal Commission and the component States; but these he hopes would in time be resolved with a gradual appreciation of the usefulness and advantages of a regional approach as against a purely State-wise approach. He feels that for the most part the functions performed at present by the Planning Commission in respect of regional plans would be better performed by Zonal Commissions.

While from the aspect of abstract principles such decentralisation might be commendable, it would perhaps hardly be true to say, as he suggests, that the proposal does not involve anything very radical. Indeed, the resulting procedural and practical complications in actual working might well be found to be so cumbersome as to outweigh the advantages envisaged in the creation of such commissions. While Shri Rana appreciates that the creation of the Zonal Councils will go a long way in preparing the ground for a regional approach, he is inclined to think that it might become a "ponderous and slow-moving machinery". I venture to think that such a criticism would indeed apply with greater force to the "strong super-structure of a regional planning organisation" which he advocates entailing, as it indeed would, the creation of a number of ever-growing directorates, advisers etc., of their own. In the process, the planning function would tend to get bogged down into acrimonious debates about procedural and structural matters, to the detriment of the desideratum of planned regional development. The present scheme for the Zonal Councils owes its origin to the suggestion made by the Prime Minister in Parliament in

connection with the reorganisation of States with a view "to develop the habit of co-operative working". Bearing in mind that financial allocations by the Planning Commission to the States for their development plans are the crux of the matter, and like Oliver Twist every State is always pressing for more for its plans, if such Zonal Planning Commissions were set up, disputes and conflicts among the States for financial allocations would merely be transferred to the arena of such Commissions.

Shri Rana has himself advocated the need for a "slow and gradual approach". This being accepted, it would be well to consider whether the existing machinery of Zonal Councils does not represent a more appropriate and realistic approach to the end in view at the present stage. The working of Zonal Councils during the short period they have been in existence might afford a useful clue in the matter. Zonal Councils have discussed and arrived at agreed conclusions on a wide variety of matters concerning not only resolving of inter-State disputes but also relating to matters of common interest and development in different fields, e.g.:

- (i) Measures for inter-State co-operation for meeting shortages of technical and training institutions/centres and personnel in the Zones;
- (ii) Co-ordinated development of electrical power resources in the regions and arrangements for regional power grids;
- (iii) Review of agricultural production and development programmes in the Zones;
- (iv) Inter-State transport problems—division of traffic/permits among the States—removal or relaxation of

- restrictions for promoting inter-State transport;
- (v) Measures for promoting better maintenance and co-ordination of control, and construction of bridges, on roads passing through more than one State;
 - (vi) Setting up of common emporia in the States for promoting the display and sale of goods of handicrafts of the States in the Zones;
 - (vii) Constitution of common police reserve forces in the Zones.

It is interesting to note that decisions are taken by Zonal Councils by common consent of all the States represented in a Council, and there is no occasion—indeed, there is no provision in their Rules of Procedure—for taking a decision by a majority of votes of the members. Moreover, provision exists for appointment of committees by the Zonal Councils for performing such functions as may be entrusted to them. A number of committees have been constituted for examination and submission of proposals for the consideration of the Council on a variety of matters of common interest like some of those mentioned above.

Zonal Councils which are yet in their infancy may not reasonably be expected to achieve heroic or spectacular results immediately. It should be noted that these include, besides Members and Advisers from the States, an Adviser nominated by the Planning Commission. I venture to think that Zonal Councils have potentialities of developing spontaneously in due course into useful bodies also for securing coordination of regional planning.

In this context, it would be useful to bear in mind that the Constitu-

tion of India in Article 263 has empowered the President, if he deems it desirable in the public interest, to establish an Inter-State Council for investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the States or the Union and one or more of the States have a common interest etc. There is also provision in Article 262 that Parliament may by law provide for the adjudication of disputes with respect to the use, distribution or control of waters of any inter-state river or river valley. However, in Part III of the States Reorganisation Act of 1956, Parliament has provided for the constitution of Zonal Councils as *advisory bodies* in which some or all of the States represented in that Council, or the Union and one or more of the States, have a common interest, to advise the Central Government and the Government of each State concerned as to the action to be taken on any such matter. Such an approach seems to have been adopted advisedly with due regard to the States' susceptibilities. In the words of the Union Home Minister in his inaugural statement to the first meeting of the Zonal Council, Northern Zone, "while the plan for Zonal Councils has been received in the country generally with enthusiasm, apprehensions have also been expressed in certain quarters that it was too idealistic a venture and that it might either result in a Zonal Council absorbing the participating States or Councils developing into powerful bodies which would weaken the Centre. In wishing this body all success, I hope that these Councils will so conduct their activities that they would not only belie such forebodings but serve to promote inter-State concord thereby strengthening and invigorating the Centre as well as the States."

Yours faithfully,
B. D. Tewari

New Delhi.
March 2, 1959.

RECENT TRENDS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

A significant recent development in the field of recruitment policy has been the Government of India's decision that all Central Government employees should be permitted to take any competitive examination held by the Union or a State Public Service Commission at any time if they are otherwise eligible by age and educational qualifications. The decision will, however, not apply to (1) Defence Services personnel, (2) permanent technical employees of the Railway Ministry and other permanent employees who have received training at the expense of Railways and are bound by an agreement to serve for a specified period, and (3) scientific and technical employees who have received training at the expense of Government for a period of one year or longer. The railways' employees listed in category (2), can appear at competitive examinations for posts in their own departments. Trained scientific and technical personnel will be allowed to compete only for such examinations as are held for appointments to scientific and technical posts. The Central Government has also decided to treat students who have passed the first year examination of the three years' degree course of an Indian University as having passed the "Intermediate" examination for purposes of employment under it. The Central Government has also announced the deletion, from this year, of the personality test from the syllabi of the "Limited Competitive Examination for Promotion to Regular Temporary Establishment of Assistant Superintendents of the Central Secretariat Service." The "Evaluation of Records" will, how-

ever, continue to remain, and will now carry a maximum of 200 marks.

As regards the creation of new cadres and services, the Government of India has framed rules for the formation of a Central Information Service for manning posts in the Press Information Bureau, the News Division of All India Radio and the Publications and Research and Reference Divisions of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and other posts requiring journalistic qualifications and experience. The initial constitution of the Service would be restricted to departmental candidates whose suitability would be determined by a Selection Committee to be constituted by the Union Public Service Commission with its Chairman or a Member as President and with not more than three representatives of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting as members. The grades and pay scales of the proposed Service range from Class I, (Gazetted), non-ministerial, Senior Administrative Grade : Rs. 1,600-100-1,800 to Class II, (non-Gazetted), non-ministerial, Grade IV : Rs. 200-10-250-EB-15-400. For recruitment after the initial constitution of the Service, the Rules provide for direct recruitment to a percentage of posts in each Grade (except Grade IV) through the Union Public Service Commission.

The Special Recruitment Board set up for the selection of personnel of the Industrial Management Pool has recommended 212 persons. The controlling authority of the Pool, the Ministry of Home Affairs, has set up an advisory board with Secretaries of the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, Steel, Mines and Fuel, and

Transport and Communications as members and the Cabinet Secretary as its Chairman to advise it on their placement in various public enterprises under the Central Government.

The Law Commission of India has, in its fourteenth report on the 'Reform of Judicial Administration', recommended the constitution of an All India Judicial Service, as also of a Central Ministry of Justice.

The Government of *Kerala* has constituted a five-member Committee under the chairmanship of *Shri N.C. Chatterjee*, Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India, to enquire into the Police administration in the State and recommend measures for its reorganisation. The terms of reference of the Committee include the role of the Police in the Welfare State; adequacy or otherwise of the existing provisions of law for the fulfilment of the objectives laid down in the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution, and of the public aspirations, in particular, in the sphere of employer-employee and landlord-tenant relations; associating the public with the work of the Police, establishment of Police Advisory Committee, measures for better public relations; associating village panchayats in some form with the Police; reorganisation and re-orientation of the administrative set-up of the Police and of methods and practices of recruitment, training (both initial and in-service) and promotion; and incentive schemes, employees' welfare and the setting up of Whitley Councils in the Police Department.

With the enactment of the Public Employment (Requirements as to Residence) Act, 1957, nine States (*viz.*, Assam, Bombay, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh) have by now amended their Service Rules permitting all Indian

citizens, of whatever State, to sit for the competitive examinations for State Services.

In *Punjab*, the Government has added the names of the Speaker, Vidhan Sabha, and the Chairman, Legislative Council, to the list of authorities competent to make recommendations for nomination to the P.C.S. (Executive Branch).

The State Government of *Uttar Pradesh* has decided to increase the quotas of the U.P. Civil Service (Executive) Branch from 510 to 540.

In *West Bengal*, the Government has decided that all appointments and transfers of District Judges will henceforth be made by the State Judicial Department. These powers were hitherto exercised by the Home Department. The State Government has also assumed charge of the public health duties (except water supply) in the Districts and also of the public health laboratories, hitherto run by the District Boards, with a view to ensuring an efficient, well-organised and integrated public health administration in rural areas.

In the field of training for public services, the emphasis on in-service orientation and refresher courses continues. In *Assam*, the O & M Division organised a six-week Induction Course for the new recruits to State Civil Service Class I and Class II to give them a general idea of the administrative machinery from the Secretariat to the district and village levels, of the various welfare activities being undertaken by Government and of the role and conduct of the civil servants in a parliamentary democracy. The State Government also proposes to start in due course a Training Institute for Officers of the Indian Administrative Service allocated to Assam and of the State Civil Service. The *Uttar Pradesh* Government has drawn up a scheme for imparting in-service training to

officials at various levels in Development Departments and to prepare them for the next Kharif campaign. Under the scheme, Principals and Instructors from the training centres and the Zonal and Regional Officers would receive a short in-service training and will, in turn, impart suitable training to the block and assistant development officers, village level workers and the inspectorate staff of the Agriculture, Co-operative and Panchayat Raj Departments.

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The Study Group on Social Security, set up by the Government of India in August 1957, under the chairmanship of *Shri V.K.R. Menon*, Director, I.L.O., India Branch, has in its recent report suggested the conversion of existing Provident Fund schemes for workers into a statutory Pension Scheme. It has also recommended a scheme of Old Age, Invalidity, and Survivorship Pension-cum-Gratuity. The latter scheme provides for the payment of a small gratuity sufficient to meet the needs of workers, and the rest of the resources are to be used towards giving them the maximum pensionary benefits. The integration of the schemes of Employees' State Insurance and of the Provident Funds administered, by the Central Government should, it is recommended, be effected as soon as the necessary administrative arrangements can be made.

The *Madras* Government has announced the appointment of a three-member Commission with *Shri Ramunni Menon*, I.C.S. (retd.), as Chairman, to scrutinise the present structure of the diverse scales of pay, dearness allowance, other compensatory concessions and retiring benefits of public servants in the State sector and to recommend a rational

structure for the future. The State Government has also granted an interim relief of Rs. 5 p.m. to all its non-gazetted employees retrospectively with the salary drawn on January 1, 1959. Local bodies are to be assisted to the extent necessary to enable them to extend this concession to all local board employees drawing Rs. 300 p.m. or less. In *Andhra Pradesh*, the State Government has accepted Part I of the recommendations, submitted by the Pay Committee, in regard to the salary structure including dearness allowance of Government employees, the minimum of whose existing pay is Rs. 250. Important among these recommendations are : minimum emoluments of Rs. 50 p.m. for Class IV employees, Rs. 71 for semi-skilled employees like drivers, Rs. 84 for the lowest grade of the clerical staff; the existing multiplicity of some hundreds of pay scales to be reduced to a bare 33; increments to be annual in all cases instead of biennial as at present in certain cases; and substantial increases in pay for executive and technical posts. The State Government has also ordered that all posts in the different departments which had lasted for three years and are, on a considered view, likely to continue either indefinitely or for a reasonably long period are to be made permanent. The Government of *Mysore* has ordered that the benefit of the general revision of pay scales of Government servants which took place with effect from January 1, 1957, may be extended to the employees of the local bodies and has authorised the Divisional Commissioners to sanction the revised scales. The State Government has also promulgated special rules providing for an advance of 42 months' salary, repayable in a period of 15 years, to Government servants to enable them to purchase the houses built in Rajajinagar and Jayamahall extension of the Bangalore City.

The Punjab Public Service Commission has, in its report for the year ending March 31, 1958, suggested, among others, the raising of the superannuation age, particularly in the case of the technical personnel, from 55 to 58 years.

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The most significant recent development in the field of employer-employee relations in government has been the amendment of the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, 1955, to remove restrictions on certain categories of activities of non-gazetted government employees drawing Rs. 500 or less p.m. and working in State-owned or State-managed industrial or commercial establishments (excluding railways and offices mainly concerned with administrative, managerial, supervisory, security or welfare functions). The exemptions, granted under the amendment to certain categories of government industrial and commercial employees, are designed to place these employees more or less on par with similar employees in private industry. The exemptions include those from provisions relating to demonstrations and strikes; joining of unrecognised associations by government servants; raising of funds and subscriptions; taking part in the registration, promotion or management of any bank or other registered company; investments, lending and borrowing; acquisition of movable, immovable and valuable property; recourse to courts or the press for the vindication of any official act subjected to adverse criticism or any conduct of defamatory character; and canvassing of non-official or other outside influence. Industrial or commercial employees of Government, exempted from the above restrictions, will now also have the freedom of *bonafide* expression of views as office-bearers of trade unions

of such government servants for the purpose of safeguarding their service conditions or for securing an improvement therein.

As regards restrictions on the activities of non-industrial and non-commercial government employees, in *Andhra Pradesh* the Government has directed the incorporation of a condition in the terms of Public Works contracts that the contract would be liable to cancellation if either the contractor himself or any of his employees is found to be a retired gazetted Government servant who has not obtained permission of the State Government for accepting the contract or employment within a period of two years from the date of his retirement. Further, at the time of sanctioning their pensions, engineers and other gazetted officers of the P.W.D. (including Electricity Department) would be required to sign an undertaking that they would not seek employment within a period of two years from the date of their retirement without the prior permission of the Government. Non-pensionable officers would also be required to sign a similar undertaking at the time they are paid the gratuity or other retiring benefits by the Government.

The *Bombay* Government has reiterated that it is against the provisions of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules for Government servants to approach M.L.A.s. or non-officials with their grievances and that any person found guilty of such misconduct would render himself liable to severe disciplinary action. Further, Government servants should not meet Ministers and Deputy Ministers not in charge of their own Department for representing their grievances or enlisting their assistance in service matters.

In *Madhya Pradesh*, the State Government has decided to accord official recognition to associations of

non-industrial government employees provided (1) the association ordinarily consists of a distinct class of government employees (except in the case of an association of Class IV personnel whose office-holders may be government employees of a different class); (2) every government employee of the same class is eligible for membership of the association; and (3) no person who is not in the active service of Government is an office-holder of the association.

In *Bihar*, the Government has decided to set up a Joint Staff Council, to function as a consultative body, for Class III and Class IV staff employed in the Secretariat and attached offices, excluding, however, the departments of Police and Jails. The Council will consist of 10 members—five representing the Government side and five representing the staff side. The staff will be represented through the recognised associations of the various categories of Class III and Class IV Government employees. The recognised associations will be requested to submit a joint list for nominations on the Council. In case of difference of opinion, representation to the various associations will be allowed on the basis of the strength of membership. A convention will be allowed to develop so that all decisions are taken by agreement of both the staff and the official side. In the absence of unanimity the decision will be recorded only after majority from either side agree to it. In case of disagreement, the matter will be referred to Government who may give its decision and communicate it to the Joint Council for further consideration and recommendations, if any.

* * *

The trend towards the reorganisation and reinforcement of anti-

corruption machinery in States continues. The State Government of *Madhya Pradesh* has decided to constitute a seven-member Anti-Corruption Board with an Anti-Corruption Officer as its Member-Secretary and Chief Executive Officer. The new Board will replace the present Complaints Board inherited from the former *Madhya Pradesh* State (*i.e.*, prior to its reorganisation in 1956) and the Anti-Corruption Branch of the Inspector-General of Police in the *Madhya Bharat* region. The main functions of the Board would be to advise Government on steps to be taken to combat bribery, corruption, misuse of public funds, embezzlement, etc.; to scrutinise the reports of the Commissioner for Departmental Enquiries on departmental enquiries conducted by him against gazetted officers; and to supervise generally the work of the Anti-Corruption Officer and the Commissioner for Departmental Enquiries. The Commissioner for Departmental Enquiries will conduct all important enquiries on charges of corruption and the like falling within the purview of the Anti-Corruption Board, on being authorized to do so by a competent authority. In the case of gazetted officers, the report of the Commissioner will be placed before the Anti-Corruption Board and the recommendation of the Board will be taken into account before issue of the final orders by the appointing authority.

In *Bihar*, the Government has decided to appoint a Special Officer to function as an Inquiry Officer in respect of all important departmental proceedings under the administrative control of departments of Government.

* * *

Following the revised arrangements introduced in August 1958

for budgeting, financial scrutiny and control and the devolution of wider financial powers to the administrative Ministries with a view to securing greater efficiency and the speedier implementation of development plans, the Central Government has promulgated "The Delegation of Financial Powers Rules, 1958". The Book of Financial Powers (including the Schedules) and certain provisions of the General Financial Rules, in so far as they relate to financial powers, have been incorporated in the new Rules. These Rules prescribe revised and enhanced financial powers for the "Departments of the Central Government", "Administrators" and "Heads of Departments" in respect of the creation of permanent and temporary posts, appropriation and re-appropriation, contingent and miscellaneous expenditure and write-off of losses. The powers of "Administrators" in regard to sanctioning of expenditure on schemes and indents, contracts and purchases, and of "Heads of Departments" in regard to these two matters as well as grants and loans, have not been specified in the new Rules. The Ministries have been requested to take up this question on a priority basis, and meanwhile the existing powers of the "Administrators" and "Heads of Departments" will continue.

In *Bombay*, greater financial powers have been delegated to Administrative Departments, Heads of Departments and Regional Heads. The Administrative Departments have been given powers in respect of creation of temporary posts, expenditure on contingency including purchase of furniture, reappropriations,

re-employment of superannuated Government servants etc. The Departments have also been authorised to accord administrative approval to plans and estimates for civil works other than residential building up to Rs. 1 lakh. The powers of various Heads of Departments have been generally doubled and all the Regional Heads have been generally delegated the same financial powers as are exercised by the Heads of Departments.

In *Mysore*, Government has decided to transfer the control over the Divisional Accountants of the Public Works Department from the Chief Engineer to the Controller of State Accounts.

* * *

Among the important committees, commissions or boards which have recently been set up or are in the process of formation are a Central Committee on Employment; a National Board for Audio-Visual Education; an Advisory Committee on Administration and a Committee on Re-demarcation of Districts and Divisions in Punjab; a Fact-finding Committee for Economic and Administrative Survey of Scarcity Areas, a State Youth Welfare Board and a State Educational Council in *Bombay*; an Advisory Committee for each district and a State Board of Transport in *Madhya Pradesh* and a seven-member Canal Board for *Rajasthan*. The *Rajasthan* Government has also issued fresh instructions redefining the duties and functions of District Officers (Collectors) and vesting them with powers of supervision in respect of all development and welfare activities.

NEWS FROM ABROAD

The XIth International Congress of Administrative Sciences will be held in the Kurhaus, at Wiesbaden, Federal Republic of Germany, from August 30 to September 3, 1959. The agenda of the Congress will comprise : devolution of powers to autonomous institutions, including professional bodies and universities; structure and operation of the Ministry of Finance; increasing the efficiency of administration by better motivation of the public servant (including devices such as incentives and awards); and automaton : relevant problems in public administrative agencies.

In the *United Nations*, a substantial reorganisation of units of the Secretariat has been made effective from February 1, 1959, as a result of which the activities in public administration are now directly under the Secretary-General through an Office of Public Administration. In addition, the Office will be responsible for executing the new programme, authorized by the recent 13th Session of the General Assembly, to provide operational and executive personnel, on request of governments. This programme, now called "OPEX" was first proposed by the Secretary-General as an "International Administrative Service". The U.N. Technical Assistance Administration has also been unified with the substantive Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

In *Pakistan*, an eight-member Administrative Reorganisation Commission has been set up under the chairmanship of Mr. G. Ahmed, Chairman, Planning Commission.

In the *U.K.*, the Treasury has announced new arrangements for recruitment to the executive and clerical classes of the Civil Service. They would widen the field of recruitment and take account of changes in educational trends. Young people with the necessary qualifications in the General Certificate of Education examination will now be considered for executive class posts if they are under 24 (the upper age limit previously was 19½); and interviews for qualified candidates will be held more often than once a year, as in the past, so that those who have passed the General Certificate of Education examination at the necessary standard will not have to wait before being considered for the Civil Service. In the clerical class the upper age limit for candidates is now raised to 19. Where there is a shortage of staff, competitions for clerical officers' posts will be open to anyone with suitable educational qualifications who is between the ages of 16 and 59. The clerical assistant grade has up to now been open only to women aged 15 to 20, and to clerks aged 40 to 59, who are temporarily employed in the Government service. In future, young men aged between 15 and 19 will be able to enter the open competitions for this grade.

INSTITUTE NEWS

The new buildings of the *Institute* and the Indian School of Public Administration were formally opened by the President of India, *Dr. Rajendra Prasad*, on January 31, 1959. *Dr. Rajendra Prasad* was received by the *Institute's* President *Shri Jawaharlal Nehru*. The *Institute's* new site has an area of 6 acres, with approximately 50,000 square feet of built-up area. In addition to the accommodation for the administrative offices, the editorial and research staff, the teaching staff of the School and lecture rooms for students, and a conference hall, there will also be, when all the buildings are completed, an assembly hall to accommodate 500 persons. The hostel can accommodate 120 students and officials of the Central, State and Local Governments. The library wing has a three-tier shelving accommodation for about 2,00,000 books, a large reading room, a periodicals and reference room and a room for research scholars.

Shri M.S. Ramayyar, who was till recently Additional Deputy Comptroller and Auditor-General, joined the *Institute* on January 2, as Deputy Director.

The *Institute* convened a Conference on 'Morale in the Public Services' on January 3-4, 1959, at Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi, under the chairmanship of *Shri C.D. Deshmukh*, Chairman, University Grants Commission. Inaugurated by *Shri Govind Ballabh Pant*, Union Minister for Home Affairs, the Conference was attended by about 32

persons representing experience of Central and State Governments, Parliament, Universities and other spheres of national life. The agenda of the Conference was : (1) Recruitment, Training, Terms of Employment and Working Conditions; (2) Human Relations and Internal Communications; (3) Public Servants, Legislators and Ministers; and (4) Public Servants and the Public.

A one-month refresher course for Military Lands and Cantonments Service Officers has been organised by the *Institute* at the request of the Union Ministry of Defence; it was inaugurated on April 6 by *Shri V.K. Krishna Menon*, Minister for Defence.

A series of five lectures were delivered at the *Institute* by *Prof. Henry C. Hart* of the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A., from December 16 to 22 on the administrative problems of River Valley Development. Another series of five lectures on 'Union-State Relations in India' were given from March 26 to 31 by *Shri K. Santhanam*, who was Chairman, Second Finance Commission. Other lectures delivered included 'University Education in the U.S.A.' by *Dr. Clark Kerr*, President, University of California, on January 6; 'Inter-Governmental Relations in Social Welfare' (Group Discussion) by *Dr. Eveline M. Burns*, Professor of Social Security, School of Social Work, New York, on January 17, and 'Education for Executive Development' by *Sir Noel Hall*, Principal, Administrative Staff College, Henley-on-Thames, England, on February 6.

DIGEST OF REPORTS

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE, 1958-59, 33rd Report [Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel—Hindustan Steel (P) Ltd., Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur Steel Projects.] New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1959, xiv, 178p. Rs. 2.10.

The main findings and recommendations of the Committee are given below :

(a) Organisational Matters

1. It would have been desirable to entrust the Bhilai and Durgapur projects to the Hindustan Steel (P) Ltd. from the beginning since the machinery of Government departments is not generally suited to undertake such projects departmentally even in the initial stages when in fact the bulk of the negotiations are carried out and agreements entered into.

2. The Government would do well to define in broad terms the qualifications of the Chairmen and Members of the Boards of Directors of industrial undertakings in the public sector in the country, as is the practice in U.K. Keeping in view the tasks to be performed and the requirements therefor, the Members of the Board of Directors might be drawn from a wider sphere than at present and that more technical experts and experienced men from public life and from various non-official sources be appointed to the Board, though care would have to be taken that no one with a direct interest in the same industry in the private sector is appointed. The terms of service of the Directors might be so framed to attract capable men.

3. More full-time Directors should be appointed on the analogy of the Railway Board and that, to

the extent possible, continuity among the full-time Members should be ensured. For better administration and co-ordination, each full-time Director should be entrusted with the responsibility of certain Departments of the Company.

4. Government might consider whether it is feasible in the case of Hindustan Steel (P) Ltd., and other nationalised undertakings, to adopt the principle suggested by the Advisory Committee of the National Coal Board of U.K. that the non-official Directors on the Board should have the right of access to the Minister if they wish to draw his attention to any matter of importance affecting the industry.

5. The association of the Secretariat officials on the Board of Directors of the Hindustan Steel (Private) Limited might be terminated as early as possible. Pending that there should be some arrangement in the Government for examination of matters, which come up from the Company for their consideration and approval, by officers different from and independently of those who are on the Board so as to facilitate objective and independent examination of these matters.

6. The circumstances in which the Government might intervene in the affairs of the Company should be clearly specified and that, except in such circumstances, the responsibilities of the Company with regard to the Projects should be specific and unambiguous.

7. It might be advisable for the Board to have a larger number of Committees for different purposes with different but specific membership instead of the present multi-purpose Committee with indefinite membership. In the new Committee, the non-official Directors might be given an active part to play by making them chairmen of some of the Committees.

8. There might be a local Board of Management for each project which could function independently on all local matters. It might consist of the General Manager and all the heads of Departments of the project.

9. The selection of such responsible posts as General Managers of Steel Projects should be made not merely from among civil servants but from a wider sphere. The main consideration in this regard should be that the General Managers should be able to exercise the powers devolving on them without fear or favour and they should not look to headquarters for guidance or orders on routine matters. They should be able to deal with the Members of the Board of Directors or the Minister at near-equal level and maintain the autonomy of the local management subject to the general policies of the Company and the Government. In addition, it would be desirable for the General Managers to have some industrial background particularly of the industry which they have to deal with. There should also be continuity in the posts of General Managers.

10. The location of the head office of Hindustan Steel (Private) Limited nearabout the area of operations would enable it to function independently on business lines instead of looking to Government for advice and guidance in all matters.

(b) Personnel

1. The Committee suggests that the requirements of staff in the Department of Iron and Steel be reviewed. It would be desirable in the interest of efficiency and effecting co-ordination if instead of three Secretaries each looking after a separate plant, only one Secretary is entrusted with the overall charge of co-ordinating the work in the three plants. He might, however, be assisted by Deputies, if necessary.

2. A systematic job analysis might be conducted in the Headquarters Office of the Hindustan Steel for determining the strength of the various categories of personnel so that uniform criteria are adopted for providing staff to the various officers. In the project offices also job analysis might be carried out and staff strength determined on a scientific basis.

3. The Committee reiterates the recommendation contained in para 75 of the 39th Report (First Lok Sabha) that a separate Public Service Commission with slightly different and more flexible rules and procedures might be set up for the purpose of recruitment to posts in the Undertakings in the Public Sector. Meanwhile the existing Selection Committees should be broad based to include prominent non-officials and technical experts from outside so as to create greater confidence in the objectivity of the selections. In regard to the recruitment of foreign trained Indians some uniform standards regarding academic qualifications, types of training received, experience, etc. should be laid down for purposes of pay-fixation and given wide publicity. The Hindustan Steel should draw on the pool which the Man-power Sub-Committee of the Cabinet is reported to have decided to maintain for

their requirements of foreign trained personnel as far as possible.

4. The decision to import foreign workers for work in the blast furnaces at Rourkela was an ill-considered decision and that the expenditure incurred on that account was avoidable.

5. In spite of the acceptance by Government of the recommendation contained in para 24(i) and (ii) of the 16th Report of the Committee (First Lok Sabha) that unskilled and semi-skilled labour should be recruited mainly from among the local people, it is surprising that the position has not improved in actual practice. Effective steps should be taken for the implementation of these recommendations.

6. The Training Institute recommended by the Technical Personnel Training Committee should be set up and arrangements for training made therein as early as possible. It would be desirable for the trainees to possess adequate technical experience, as also some experience of the job that they are expected to perform on return, before they are sent for training.

7. The suggestions (i) that the number of engineers sent or proposed to be sent out for training was too large, and (ii) that instead of foreign training, foreign instructors could be imported to give training to others in India, might be carefully considered by Government.

8. The number of foreign experts should be kept to the minimum and that efforts should be made to obtain the maximum results from them by a well-planned replacement by Indian counterparts. It might, perhaps, be advantageous if the Indians are put in charge of the Sections as far as possible while the foreign technicians

are entrusted mainly with the job of guiding them.

9. The feasibility of introducing the scheme of participation of labour in management in the new steel projects might be considered as early as possible.

(c) *Production Planning, Consultants and Contracts*

1. Forethought and adequate planning had not gone into the decisions taken from time to time to set up the steel plants in the country. In taking a decision on the Consultants' Report the Government lost five valuable years and a very good opportunity to put up the steel plants in the country at a cheaper cost at a time when they were most needed. Had the steel plants been erected as suggested in 1949, they would have gone into production by 1954 or 1955. They would also have saved the country from importing large quantities of steel which cost large sums of money in the shape of foreign exchange. There is evidence that if decision to set up steel plants had been taken in time, they would have cost 40 to 50 per cent less.

2. The costs of the projects have been rising. The rise in costs have been explained as partly due to increase in the level of prices, but it seems evident that it is also due to unsatisfactory estimation, planning, agreements and contracts. The value of contracts has gone up by nearly three times in many cases. The necessity for such a large revision has risen only because the data on which tenders were called was not complete. The payment of advances to the contractors is contrary to the principle of open tender contracts and the grant of advances had vitiated the terms of tender on which the contracts were placed.

3. The ratio of likely production to investment in the three plants should be worked out and published at an early date. Early steps be taken to establish a well-trained and well-staffed cost-accounting organisation in the three plants on healthy and efficient lines so that an efficient costing machinery might be available from the time the production starts.

4. A comprehensive statement showing the estimates of all the items of expenditure connected with the three steel projects should be prepared and presented to Parliament at an early date. It is necessary for proper comparison of the estimates and the actual costs of the three projects that the estimates should be analysed on a uniform basis.

5. Government should, before approaching Parliament for approval of a project, prepare and indicate realistic and firm estimates of all financial requirements which might not vary much except for unforeseen changes in general economic conditions. Greater attention should be given to the preparation and scrutiny of financial reviews. It is also necessary that Parliament should be given full information about the plans, programmes and estimates of the undertakings every year along with the budget documents and in advance of the annual reports which are generally presented long after the year is over.

6. The arrangement under which consultants are also suppliers of

equipment is not satisfactory since there is a possibility that the advice given by the consultants might not be objective. The duties of the consultants might be broadly defined as far as practicable in terms of specific problems which might arise in the course of the development of the industry or execution of the projects. A comparison of fees for consultancy at the three projects by an expert technical committee is necessary with a view to laying down the broad principles on which the fees of consultants should be determined in future.

7. An important aspect of the projects, viz., the association of Indians in the planning and designing work, has not been given the attention it deserved. Even at this stage, attempts might be made to associate Indians with the consultants in greater measure.

8. A team of experts comprising persons well-versed in industrial, financial, legal and technical matters, might be appointed to make a more comprehensive study of the projects with particular reference to the agreements with consultants, project reports, contracts, arrangements made for training the personnel, etc., not necessarily to pick holes in regard to them but to enable with their help to make suggestions for avoiding difficulties in future. The report of the team so appointed should be made available to Parliament.

LAW COMMISSION OF INDIA, 1958, 14th Report—Reform of Judicial Administration, Vols. I-II. New Delhi, Ministry of Law, Government of India. 1282p.

The more important recommendations made by the Law Commission in its report on 'Reform of Judicial Administration' are as follows :—

I. Supreme Court

1. The best talent among the judges of the High Courts has not always found its way to this court.

It is widely felt that communal and regional considerations and executive influence have been responsible for some appointments. An effort should be made to directly recruit distinguished members of the Bar, with a tenure of at least ten years in the interests of the stability of judicial administration. The Chief Justice of India should have a tenure of at least five to seven years. The practice of appointing the senior-most puisne judge of the court as the Chief Justice of India is not desirable because the duties of the latter require not only a person of ability and experience but also a competent administrator capable of handling complex matters. Instead, the most suitable person whether from the court, the Bar or the High Courts should be chosen.

2. The pension of a judge and of a Chief Justice, who retires after fifteen years' service, including service, if any, in a High Court, should be Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 3,000 per month respectively, with proportionately less amounts for shorter periods of service. The leave allowances of a judge should be at least as liberal as those of a High Court judge. It is not consistent with the dignity of retired judges to have chamber practice. Retired judges should be barred from accepting further employment under Government except as provided under Article 128 of the Constitution.

II. High Courts

1. Unsatisfactory appointments made on political, communal and regional or other grounds, have resulted in the diminution of the out-turn of work and contributed to arrears. While it should be open to the State executive to express its opinion on the suitability of a person proposed by the Chief Justice for High Courts, it should not be open to

it to propose a nominee of its own and forward it to the Centre; if it does not agree with the recommendation made by the Chief Justice, he should be asked to make another proposal. Further, to avoid delays, it would be advisable for the Chief Justice to send a copy of his recommendation direct to the Chief Justice of India. Article 217 of the Constitution should be amended to provide that a judge of a High Court should be appointed only on the recommendation of the Chief Justice of a State and with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of India.

2. Merit should be the sole criterion in appointing judges; and for the purpose of recruitment, the entire country should be treated as one unit. Further, an effort should be made to persuade suitable senior legal practitioners to accept judgeships at least for a short period as a public duty. For this purpose, an *ad hoc* body presided over by the Chief Justice of India should be created to draw up a panel of persons suitable for such appointment.

3. The seniormost puisne judge should not automatically be appointed as the Chief Justice of a High Court unless he is able, experienced and competent. The appointment should be with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of India. While there is no need to have a rule that the Chief Justice shall always be from outside the State, yet when a vacancy arises in the office, the fittest person should be selected, if necessary, from outside.

4. Meagre pensions have driven retired High Court judges to practise at the Bar or to seek employment. The pension of a Chief Justice and that of a judge retiring after twelve years' service should be increased to Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 1,750 per month respectively. Judges should be

allowed to draw full salary for the period for which they are entitled to leave on full allowances and half salary for the period of leave on half allowances. They should not be permitted to practise in any court after retirement in view of the increased pensions recommended. A retired judge should also be barred from accepting any employment under government other than as a judge of the Supreme Court.

5. The ripe experience demanded of High Court judges requires that their retiring age should be raised to sixty-five years; this enhanced age of retirement and recommendation about leave should apply only to judges appointed in future.

6. Increase in the normal work, expansion of special jurisdiction under various Acts, petitions for the enforcement of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, the faulty tests adopted by the executive in assessing the necessary judge-strength, delays in filling vacancies and deputation of judges for work other than purely judicial have contributed to the large arrears.

7. The permanent strength of the High Courts should be refixed after taking into consideration the recent increase in their work and the strength so fixed should be reviewed at intervals of two or three years.

8. The Courts should work for at least 200 days in a year. Once this is done, it should be left to the courts to regulate vacations. Judges should sit in court and do judicial work for at least five hours on every working day. They should not be required to sit in court on Saturdays which are not really free days for them. Judges should set an example of strict punctuality on the Bench; the practice of retiring into chambers for dictating judgments or for doing

administrative work during court hours is not desirable.

III. Subordinate Judiciary

1. The designations of judicial officers vary from State to State. There should be one State Judicial Service divided into two classes—class I consisting of district judges or other equivalent posts and class II comprising two grades of officers, namely, munsifs and subordinate judges. Recruitment to the State Judicial Service—class II, should be made on the result of a competitive examination conducted by the Public Service Commission. The upper age limit for recruitment should be fixed at thirty years; one of the qualifications should be a minimum of three years' practice at the Bar; and the examination should be of a practical character.

2. In order to attract to the judiciary capable young graduates, an all-India judicial service should be created which should man forty per cent of the posts in the State Judicial Service—Class I. Officers for this service should be selected by means of an all-India competitive examination on the lines of the I.A.S. examination. Candidates for this service should be law graduates between the ages of 21 and 25 years and should offer at least two optional papers in law; no minimum period of practice at the Bar need be insisted upon. Officers of this service should, as a rule, be allotted to States other than their home states in order to foster an all-India outlook which is of vital importance to the nation. They should be trained for a period of two years, first in the I.A.S. Training School where they should take up for study, in addition to the I.A.S. officers, subjects like Civil Procedure Code, Company Law and the like. After training in the I.A.S. School, further intensive training

should be given for a year in the State to which the officer is allotted. The emoluments of the I.J.S. officers should be the same as those of the I.A.S. officers.

3. The remaining sixty per cent of the posts should be filled in moieties by promotion from the State Judicial Service—Class II, and by direct recruitment from the Bar. The minimum requirement for the latter recruitment should be seven years' practice and an upper age limit of forty years.

4. The pay scales of judicial officers should be the same in all States as they do exactly the same work and have precisely the same qualifications. The starting pay of civil judicial officers is, generally speaking, too low. The pay of district judges should not be less than that of I.A.S. officers on the senior scale and should be fixed with some advance increments on the basis of their service in the subordinate judiciary. There should be no difference in the pay scale of district judges, additional district judges and others holding corresponding posts as they do substantially the same type of work.

5. Promotions should not be on the basis of mere seniority but only on grounds of merit and ability, as the morale of the officer will be sapped if the judicial work which is capable of appreciation is not recognised.

6. In order to facilitate recruitment to the Subordinate Judiciary from the Bar and also to have the services of experienced officers with maturity of judgment, the age of retirement of judicial officers should be raised to 58 years; they should not, however, be re-employed under government after retirement.

IV. Administrative Bodies and Rule of Law

1. In the examination of administrative decisions both of facts and

of law, the French system is much wider in its sweep than the system prevailing in U.K. or in U.S.A. But as our people have great confidence in the High Court judiciary, it is desirable that the ultimate review of all administrative action should lie with the High Courts. The creation of a general administrative body like the *conseil D'etat* in France is therefore not favoured. It would be derogatory to the citizen's rights to establish a system of administrative courts which would take the place of the ordinary courts of law. Such a system may no doubt be useful on account of its cheapness, speed, procedural simplicity and availability of special knowledge; nevertheless in our country which is influenced by the idea of rule of law, it should not be conceived of as a device to supplant the ordinary courts of law.

2. Decisions should be demarcated into (a) judicial and quasi-judicial decisions, and (b) administrative decisions. Against judicial and quasi-judicial decisions, an appeal on facts should be provided to an independent tribunal presided over by a person qualified as a High Court judge and assisted by a person or persons with administrative or technical knowledge. A further appeal or revision on questions of law may lie to the High Court, in which a separate division called the "Administrative division of the High Court" as suggested by Spens Committee in England, may deal with such matters. In the case of administrative decisions, provision should be made that they should be invariably accompanied by reasons, to make it possible to test the validity of decisions by appropriate writs.

3. All the tribunals delivering administrative judgments should conform to the principles of natural justice, and should act with openness, fairness and impartiality. Legisla-

tion providing a simple procedure embodying these principles for the functioning of tribunals may be enacted. Appropriate legislation will have also to be enacted requiring the administrative bodies or officers discharging judicial or quasi-judicial functions to conform to this procedure.

4. As there has been a large increase in the High Courts of petitions of Government servants seeking redress in service matters under Article 226 of the Constitution, appellate tribunals consisting of experienced civil servants as members and presided over by legally qualified chairmen, may be established both at the Centre and in the States to deal with memorials and appeals from Government servants in respect of disciplinary and other action taken against them. This will provide a speedy remedy in checking cases of injustice and the order of the qualified tribunal will enable the courts to reject all frivolous petitions summarily.

V. Legal Reform and Legislation

1. There should be a permanent body or commission, consisting of full-time members, at the Centre charged with the duty of periodically revising the enactments in the light of developments in law and for consolidating, co-ordinating and remodelling them in the context of changed conditions, modern legal concepts and fresh legislation. Similar bodies should be established in the States.

The Lok Sabha Committee on Subordinate Legislation has done good work in this connection, such bodies may therefore, be established in the State legislatures also. But even such a parliamentary body has neither the time nor the means to subject the rules to detailed examina-

tion. Therefore, whenever possible, important rules should be submitted for prior scrutiny to the permanent commission assisted by an officer of the administrative department.

3. Proper publication of rules may be ensured by incorporating the provisions of the English Statutory Instruments Act of 1946 in the General Clauses Act (Act X of 1897).

VI. Separation of the Judiciary and the Executive

As there is a lurking opposition to the principle of separation in some States, separation may be effected by central legislation on the model of the Bombay Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions Act (XXIII of 1951). Till this is done, the States which have not so far introduced separation, should do by executive orders and bring the entire criminal judiciary under the administrative control of the High Courts.

VII. Legal Education

1. The system of legal education has been defective and is not calculated to produce either jurists or competent legal practitioners; and in recent years, there has been considerable deterioration in the standards of legal education.

2. Only graduates should be allowed to take the degree course in law. Persons who are in employment or who are pursuing other courses of study should not be permitted to join full-time law colleges. For the benefit of persons in employment who wish to acquire knowledge of law, a diploma course may be conducted; but they should not be eligible to enter the legal profession.

3. The university course in law should extend over a period of two years and should be confined to the

teaching of the theory and principles of the law. Procedural, taxation and other laws of a practical character should not be included in the university course but should be taught during the period of practical training, as such subjects would have more importance to the students aspiring for a professional career.

VIII. Panchayat Courts

1. A determined effort should be made to establish and popularise panchayat courts in States where they are not firmly established. To avoid factional and partisan influences, a panchayat court may be constituted for a group of villages. In disposing of disputes arising from any particular village, the nyaya panchas should be from other villages, or each party may be permitted to select his panch and the sarpanch should preside over the Bench.

2. The nyaya panchas should be nominated by a suitable authority out of those elected panchas who possess certain prescribed qualifications, like literacy, reputation for impartiality etc. They should be given proper training before exercising judicial functions. To provide

for continuity of trained panchas, their retirement may be staggered.

3. These courts should not be bound by procedural laws or by the law of evidence. Revisions from their decisions should lie to the munsif or the sub-divisional magistrate, who should be empowered to transfer a case from one panchayat court to another or to the regular court for trial.

IX. Ministry of Justice

In view of the need for a co-ordinated policy, a properly equipped Central Ministry that could act not only as a storehouse of information but also lay down standards in the matter of judicial administration for all States, is necessary. Such a Ministry should also be charged with the task of ensuring that the High Courts in the various States possess adequate and competent personnel and may also assume control of the proposed Indian Judicial Service. As the creation of such a Ministry might take some time, a Special Officer should be appointed to take up the task of speedy implementation of the Report because many of the matters which have been dealt with in the Report require urgent and prompt action.

BOOK REVIEWS

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY FORMATION; Ed. by EMMETTE S. REDFORD, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1956, xiv, 319p., \$5.75

As the editor states in the introduction all five parts in the volume are based on a dissertation in political science written under his supervision at the University of Texas. Economic policy and economic administration, both of which are becoming increasingly important, are the themes of these essays, each one of which deals with a separate field of public economic activity. Of the five accounts two, petroleum production in Texas and Lower Colorado River Authority, deal with limited state regions of operation, while the remaining three, regulation of natural gas, supervision of banking and the Federal Trade Commission have a nationwide jurisdiction. All the parts are replete with factual data of operation of the several administrations which have been collected by long association and intimate knowledge of the fields of study. They should, therefore, be of considerable interest and profit to students of public corporations.

The main interest of the book consists in the record of shifting relationships between the legislative and executive wings of government on the one hand and the several corporations on the other. Almost as a universal experience it is seen that the efforts of individual legislators and sections to influence action of corporations outside the normal procedure have gradually lost in importance, as the corporations have gained in self-assurance, prestige and independence. The legislative as such has rarely attempted to limit the independence of corpora-

tions too rigidly, and the advantage of limiting the scope but not the manner of operation of independent corporations is being increasingly realised. One area of relationship between corporations and the state, that which defines the relationship between the executive and the corporation is still in a flux, and the several facets of this topic brought out in the book would serve as valuable data for further study. There is no doubt that personalities at the two ends, in government and in the corporation, play a decisive part in the actual working of this relationship. But there ought to be at any given time a generally accepted "philosophy" of the subject. One may try and gather it by putting together the explicit and implied suggestions of these essays.

The first chapter written by Prof. Willbern of Alabama deals with oil regulation in Texas. It shows how easily procedural arrangements can be adapted to programme needs. It also reveals much about informal methods and the elusiveness of information about the actual purposes and processes of government. Dr. Huitt of Wisconsin, while dealing with regulation of the natural gas industry by the Federal Power Commission illustrates the insufficiency of administrative agencies to achieve their declared objectives, the interweaving of administrative, judicial and legislative participation in the making of policy and the shifting of policy contents from one department of government to another. Dr. Fox, who has contributed the longest of

the five essays, has discussed in detail the evolution as well as the working of the mechanics of regulation in terms of the peculiar needs of banking. Prof. Clay's story on the L.C.R.A. shows, among other things, that alertness and aggressiveness of administrators, and good internal management, are necessary to attain the goals set before a corporation. Dr. Hall's chapter, which completes the series, focusses attention on the results of the investigatory function of the Federal Trade Commission.

Dr. Hall was interested in finding out whether, to what extent and in what ways the investigations of the Commission had influenced public policy. Dr. Hall summarises his findings as follows:

"Apart from its wartime service to various executive agencies, the Federal Trade Commission has not, through its investigatory work, rendered extensive aid to the President or the Attorney-General. Nor has the Commission always met a favourable reception in Congress in matters relating to its investigatory function. Limitations upon appropriations for support of the function served effectively during the past twenty years to

reduce the amount of the Commission's work and thus its opportunity for constructive accomplishment. Many of the Commission's recommendations, while certainly of significance and merit, have elicited little or no response from Congress or other government agents. And when Congressional response has been forthcoming, it not frequently has taken the form of active opposition to commission proposals, going so far in the case of basing-point pricing, for example, as actually to threaten significant commission accomplishments. The total effect of these various limitations and reactions by Congress has been to reduce drastically the importance of the investigatory function as a source of information and policy suggestion for the legislative branch."

Whereas the experience of the five corporations is variable in detail, the broad conclusion that while in administration corporations have played an increasingly important role, in matters of policy-making their suggestions have been treated with considerable reserve by the legislature, and occasionally even by the executive, seems to be inescapable

—D. G. Karve

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE; By M.P. SHARMA, Bombay, Kitab Mahal, VIII, 508p. Rs. 10.

A good book on Public Administration in India is long overdue. However, the reader who expects Dr. Sharma's book to supply this want is likely to be disappointed. It is based on the notes of his lecture to students of his university offering the subject of Public Administration for their degree examinations. The model followed is L.D. White's Introduction to the Study of Public Administration and the model has been adhered to even to the extent of devoting a disproportionate amount of space to examining the

concept of the chief executive in a presidential type of government or explaining the working of Independent Regulatory Commissions and matters of that kind which are of only limited interest to a general student of public administration in India. Moreover, following White's model the treatment of many of the topics is somewhat diffuse; for example, the examination of 'Organisation' has been spread over several chapters which besides involving a considerable amount of needless repetition, has resulted in the absence

of clear analysis of the basic problems of organisation without which an effective comparative study is not possible. In a comparative study of public administration, which is what the book claims to be, it is necessary to examine the practices followed in countries other than United States or the United Kingdom at least in those spheres where they appear to follow different practices. If that had been attempted, the author could not have overlooked the constitution of the boards of management of nationalised industries in France, or the Australian practice of recruiting the bulk of its personnel at school-leaving age and the working of the Australian Public Service Board and similar matters. Since excessive reliance has been placed on published books of the text-book variety to the exclusion of original sources like parliamentary papers and articles in journals and reviews, much useful material, like the modifications of the recommendations of the Masterman Committee as a result of consultation with the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council or the constitution of a Select Committee of the House to scrutinise the annual reports and financial statements of the nationalised industries in the United Kingdom, has been missed. Even more serious is the failure to give sufficient prominence to Indian conditions. To cite an example, though there is a fairly long chapter on 'Government Corporations', it does not attempt to review critically the various Acts of Parliament constituting these Corporations to ascertain the evolution of the ideas regarding their constitution, control etc. nor has the increasing use of the company form of management operating under the Indian Companies Act been noticed. And certain aspects of the subject relating to direction or management in public

administration have not received that degree of attention which their importance deserves. The difficult concept of leadership has been dealt with in a couple of pages mainly in relation to the political executive and the need for leadership at other levels, the nature of such leadership and the qualities appropriate to it, how to devise suitable procedures for recruitment and training to secure such leaders have all been overlooked. Communication as an aspect of the work of management finds no mention at all, not even in the index. The treatment of supervision is very cursory and it has not even been attempted to explain that one of the basic functions of supervision is to ensure that the work that is done is the work that is intended to be done nor is the role of supervision in securing co-ordination effectively brought out. The result is that what has been termed the human aspect of administration which is what makes the administrative machines function has not been adequately appreciated.

Since the book appears to have been written in the middle of 1955 and published in the middle of 1958 without any revision of the text, various important developments during the last three years, both in the country and outside, which would otherwise have received notice, have been ignored. The numerous errors of fact in regard to Indian conditions and Indian practices, and carelessness in proof-reading which has allowed too many grammatical and printing errors to remain uncorrected detract from the appeal of book. The result is that while university students will certainly find the book useful as a short cut to passing their examinations, it is unlikely to appeal to a serious student of the subject.

—K. Radhakrishnan

INTRODUCTION TO EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION; By RONALD F. CAMPBELL, CORBALLY, RAMSEYER, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1958, xvii, 434p. \$8.00

The scope of *Introduction to Educational Administration* is indicated in the foreword to the book. The authors say that they have written the book with several purposes in mind. It "will serve equally well as a text for students and as a source of information for many other interested individuals. It is aimed primarily at assisting in the orientation of the prospective educational administrator. We have tried to give such a person an overview of the field and the means to evaluate himself as a potential administrator. Possessing this information, the student or beginning administrator will be in a better position to decide whether or not educational administration is the profession for him. If he decides in the affirmative, the book can be useful in helping him to plan his preparation for the job and for his continued professional development."

The book is divided into three parts. The first part is called 'The Job' and contains a description of educational administration. In this part the authors examine the history of education and its meaning for administration, the nature and purpose of educational administration, the tasks involved in it and the various factors that enter into it. The role of the teacher in the administrative process is also examined here. The second part is called 'The Man'. This describes the character of the good administrator, and the qualities required to become an effective administrator. The authors examine the competencies and the qualifications necessary for an educational administrator. The third part is called 'The Profession'. In this part the authors examine the professional opportunities and the challenges in educational administration.

Introduction to Educational Administration is a careful survey, in simple and non-technical language, of the entire range of functions, responsibilities, opportunities and problems in the field of educational administration. The authors have confined themselves to the field of primary and secondary school administration: the university area is left out. The situations examined by the authors are of course what obtain in America. The book is characteristically American in its scope and outlook. There is an elaborate analysis of the functions of educational administration and the manner in which a person can train himself and equip himself for a job in this field. In places the book reads like certain other books in which one is told how to become wealthy and to win friends. It is an elaborate vocational guidance to the would-be school administrator. It is obviously based on the view that it is possible for a person to evaluate himself and to choose his vocation with care and complete understanding of all the factors involved in that vocation. A study of the book should enable a person to enter the field of school administration with a clear idea of what it involves, how far it will take him in the way of economic progress and what opportunities and challenges for self-expression and social usefulness it provides him.

Introduction to Educational Administration may not at first reading seem to have much bearing upon the Indian situation. In India persons enter the academic profession, whether at the teaching level or at the administrative level, largely by a hit or miss process. For too many people become or seek to become

administrators without any understanding of the goals, policies, and programmes of education in their State or country or the world as a whole. We have too many educationists and educational advisers who have never read a book on education or given a moment's thought to educational philosophy. From headmasters of schools to vice-chancellors of universities, from inspectors of schools to directors of public instruction, and from the junior-most assistants to the top-most educational advisers, there are a great many men and women in India who conceive their work as the application of rules that someone else has made or as the working out of some private idiosyncrasy. Opportunities to choose one's profession after a careful self-analysis and with reference to one's taste and interests are not too plentiful. But a study of this book would be a stimulating experience, not only to the educational administrator who has already entered on his career by accident or design but also to any future educator who desires to enter life consciously and with desire not only to fulfil oneself but to serve his community and his country. An ability to assess oneself is a prime requisite in a man or woman who

seeks to play his or her part in life intelligently. Philosophically this may be related to the ancient dictum 'know thyself'. But it goes beyond that. The writers of this book ask the student or the would-be administrator not only to know himself but also to know his environment and the world which he seeks to enter. A person prepared for his work, and doing it with the kind of awareness that this book seeks to make available to him, should be able not only to perform his duties satisfactorily but to avoid many of the frictions that arise in his work and the pitfalls into which administrators too often fall. Administrators who are able to relate their work to the philosophy that guides the life of their nation and to the culture which the citizens of their country seek to evolve for themselves can make their work a conscious contribution to the total edification of the nation.

Though parts of the book may seem to be over-elaborated, it is well worth careful study not only by a student of education but by all educated persons and all those who would seek to understand the educational process.

—*Samuel Mathai*

WORK STUDY IN THE OFFICE; By HARRY P. CEMACH, London, Current Affairs Ltd., 1958, viii, 166p. 25s.

"Work Study in the Office", by Mr. Cemach is an entertaining book despite the fact that it does not add much to the existing knowledge on the subject. It, however, compresses the methodology of work study in a neat 150 pages or so. The importance of the book lies in clearing the atmosphere, so to say, about the conduct of work study in office work. The technique of work study has come in for precisely the same objections and inhibitions in India as they have arisen elsewhere, thus indicat-

ing that human reactions to new schemes are practically similar everywhere in the world. Mr. Cemach has made an interesting observation in the following words:

"It is dangerous to rely on the 'opinion' of the office manager as to how much time is spent on what unless his opinions are the results of careful and planned work measurement".

It has been the tendency on the part of the supervisory officers in India

sometime to browbeat the work study man on the basis that they have long experience of the work. It was most often found, during actual work study, that this opinion was sketchy and that where it suggested heavy workload the officials were actually underworked! Secondly, it is a commonplace criticism in India that work study can only be applied to repetitive industrial jobs. The following quotation from Mr. Cemach would show that this criticism is by no means peculiar to this country:

"Work study in the office?" he said. "My dear fellow, don't try to sell me that newfangled bit of nonsense. Now, you chaps" (and here he was referring to those of my colleagues whose work is concerned mainly with efficiency in production) "may be all right in a factory. I admit you often get very excellent results. But an office is quite a different cup of tea. In our work the brain, not the hands, plays the vital part. Stop-watches couldn't do any good in my office, and I don't think they'd do any good in any other office either".

"Here (if proof was needed) was proof that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. My friend was unable to distinguish between work study and time study. Time study is a part of, an instrument of work study. In the industrial field it is an important part; in the office it is of comparatively little importance. Anyone looking for advice as to how to invade offices with and how to improve offices by the use of stop-watches has picked up the wrong book."

In fact, the author is very positive about his views on productivity in office work and states: "I am convinced there is only one way to do it, *i.e.*, the work study

approach of systematic investigation and scientific analysis. Machines and gadgets are not enough; hard work is not enough; good supervision is not enough, however necessary and important all these factors may be. The work study approach alone is the cement that holds all these together as bricks are held to form a wall". His enthusiasm is probably a little high pitched and he is attributing to work study the results which can only be achieved by a judicious combination of all the factors that he has mentioned above. The important fact to note is that work study is a major factor in efficient working of offices.

It is quite natural to ask: What is productivity in office? It is easy to understand this concept when applied to industrial production but what has productivity to do with office? This is how the author defines the end results of work study in the office:

- (1) Equal results at lower costs;
- or*
- (2) better results at the same cost and preferably better results at lower costs.

The concept of cost of service is an excellent device as a starting point for analysis of organisations and their effectiveness. The Special Reorganisation Unit of the Ministry of Finance has been using this concept in convincing administrators that a study of their organisation is called for if the cost of service is not within reasonable limits. What is reasonable in the circumstances is apparent both to the administrator and the work study man having regard to the nature of the service rendered.

It is in the techniques used by the author for study and for work-measurement that the main merit of the book lies. All the methods of

recording facts, such as Procedure Narrative, Procedure Chart, Flow Diagrams, Flow Process Charts, etc., are in use in the Special Reorganisation Unit of the Finance Ministry though they have acquired a different local nomenclature. There are, however, two charts, namely, "Specimen Chart" for the study of form and "Multiple Activity Time Charts" for group duty studies which add to our knowledge. In the sphere of work measurement the author has formed the views held by the Special Reorganisation Unit of the Finance Ministry that stop-watch studies cannot be undertaken in office except on rare occasions even in regard to repetitive work. The most common difficulty found by the Special Reorganisation Unit is the tendency to inflate timings in order to work out staff to a predetermined figure. The essence of work measurement in the office is that, where uneconomic operations are being carried out, first to break down the job into its elements, then each element into its constituent operations and to prove the absurdity of the unreasonable timings that are proposed by the organisations concerned. If the above technique is not found successful, the Special Reorganisation Unit has devised another technique, namely that of introducing what is called a guinea-pig (a novice), and comparing the timings taken by him with those proposed by the organisations concerned. Very often this technique has helped both the S.R.U. and the organisation concerned to understand more fully the implications of work measurement.

The book, however, does not deal adequately with the technique of case studies to establish time norms and work simplification methods. The latter is the most important job of work study analyst and it would have been a very desirable feature of the

book if the author had given some case studies to pinpoint the general observations that he has made on this subject. They do not add much to the knowledge that one derives from text-books on administrative analysis. He has not touched upon the question of work sampling. This presents considerable difficulties in India. Records of work are usually not kept in an analytical manner necessary for work study. Most often either new records have to be kept in order to enable data to be collected on proformas specially designed for the purpose, or *ad hoc* back periods are selected for proper classification of work-content of different jobs. In the former case the usual argument given is that the period is not representative enough for proper decisions to be taken. In the latter case, it takes considerable time to recast the back records into a workable frame for work study. It is necessary to devise some ways of scientific sampling of work in the office in order to avoid a controversy of this character which not only causes trouble to the work study analyst and to the organisation concerned but also adds to the time element of the studies. A considerable amount of work has been done on this problem especially in the U.S.A. but perhaps the author is not aware of it.

Work study is of no utility if the recommendations cannot be immediately implemented. Hence the need for close collaboration and active participation of those actually on that work or in charge of it in a supervisory capacity. The real difficulty that the work study analyst faces is whether he should draw up a report and if so, in what form. A long report practically makes an investigation still born as nobody reads it and it is difficult to be acted upon in any case. The tendency, therefore, is for a brief report to be

drawn up giving agreed conclusions and disagreements with pros and cons faithfully reproduced. The success of the work study man thus depends on the principle that agreed conclusions form the totality of the report. Unless both sides are out to create a deadlock there is usually no difficulty in reaching agreed conclusions on most essential points but considerable patient work is necessary. In the first place, the work study man has to inform himself of the objectives and procedures of work at least to the same extent as the persons actually engaged on it; secondly, he must have experience enough to be able to propose alternative solutions which are more economical without impairing the objective laid down; thirdly he should be able to sell out his ideas to the actual workers as well as to the management; fourthly it is expected of him that, whatever the situation, he will always produce some economies; fifthly, he is expected to accomplish all this in a miraculously short time. All this requires almost superhuman qualities for the work study analyst. All the virtues mentioned in the Book must be exercised by him, namely patience, tact, skill, salesmanship, etc. These points have been stressed by Mr. Cemach in his book. They are the accompaniment of the technique of work study everywhere and

our experience in India has not been different either.

The review may be concluded by referring to Mr. Cemach's attempt early in the book to clarify nomenclature. He is at pains to distinguish among the concepts of work study, O & M and the Consultant; the former two being internal while the latter is external. O & M is work study applied to clerical procedures; it uses coarser tools of work study but has an immediate task in hand namely of making the organisation function adequately. Work study is a more comprehensive concept as it involves all aspects of economic and efficient functioning. For example O & M may devise a procedure to get through a difficulty but it may not be economic or it may not discover other economies that arise as a result of analysis of work as a whole and not of procedures alone; the battle of nomenclatures is futile. Different words appeal in different situations and times. The field of improving office, which is the decision- and policy-making workshop, is tremendous and it has enough room for technicians working under different labels even concurrently provided there is a division of labour and the necessary co-ordination of efforts.

—Indarjit Singh

THE BLACKCOATED WORKER—A Study in Class Consciousness;
By DAVID LOCKWOOD, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1958,
213p. 21s.

This book embodies the results of prolonged and painstaking research covering major changes in the economic position and social status of clerical workers in the United Kingdom over the last hundred years : it incorporates the substance of a thesis approved by the University of London for the award of the degree of Ph. D. It is averred

that, although the proportion of working population employed as clerks has increased more than tenfold over the last hundred years—from under 1% of the labour force in 1851 to over 10% in 1951—no serious attempt had been made to analyse this change in terms of social class. The study throws illuminating light, drawn from examination

of a wide range of sources, on some interesting facets of the position and relationship of the 'black-coated' workers to the working class and the Labour movement in the U.K., and examined the validity of prevalent misconceptions about the "proletarianisation", "snobbishness" and the "false" class-consciousness of clerks.

Statistics readily available for the years 1955-1956¹ would indicate a similar trend in India; the increase in the proportion of clerical workers among civilian personnel employed under the Central Government (other than Railways) appears to have been roughly from 20% to 30% during this short period. Likewise, it appears from certain studies by the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics that the proportion of *clerks and kindred workers* to the entire working population in the U.S.A. rose roughly from 10% to 20% between 1910 and 1950. (There is also another interesting fact: the proportion of craftsmen in the U.S. Labour Force is increasing despite the great advances in mass production techniques².) Such observed trends would indicate that in developed as well as under-developed countries, the processes of industrial and welfare developments in the public as well as private sectors are accompanied by the proliferation of bureaucracy, of which clerical workers are an inevitable ingredient. Out of a total of 6.8 million clerical workers in the U.S.A. in 1950, of which 4½ million were women, slightly more than a million each were in public administration, trade, and the utilities, and over 1½ million in manufacturing. Again, out of every three persons of the working population, one is a woman.

Dr. Lockwood mentions that by 1951, clerks in the U.K. numbered well over 2 million, and six out of every 10 of these were women, which leads him to suggest that 'white-bloused' rather than 'black-coated' worker might now be a more apt nomenclature! In tropical countries, he might perhaps be described as 'white-shirted' worker.

Examination of the idea of 'false' class consciousness has given the overall direction to Dr. Lockwood's study. The clerk was regarded as belonging to the working class and sharing the same interests as the manual wage-earner. The reaction of the 'black-coated' worker to trade-unionism was, however, lukewarm: the clerk himself was not conscious of this community of interest, and did not align himself with the working class movement. The contemptuous term 'white-collared proletariat' came to be coined to emphasize the snobbishness of the 'black-coated' worker, for indulging in middle class pretensions on a working class level of living: "Canute-like they were standing out against the irresistible tide of proletarianisation". The author points out that this is a reflection of the general proposition that there is no necessary correspondence between what an individual believes his class position to be and what his class position actually is. He sets out to discover by an empirical investigation, the actual variations in the economic and social situation and experiences of clerks and manual workers and their relative positions in the administrative division of labour in the variegated social relationships of production to explain the divergence in their class awareness.

1. Employment News No. 12, August 1958 (D. G. R. & E., Ministry of Labour, Government of India).

2. American Reporter, December 10, 1958,

This involved investigation of the position and interaction of several factors, which have been examined mainly in three aspects. First, the 'market situation' *i.e.*, the economic position relating to the sources and size of income, degree of job security, and opportunity for upward occupational mobility. Secondly, 'work situation' *i.e.*, the set of social relationships in which the individual is involved by virtue of his position in the division of labour. And, finally, the 'status situation' or the position of the individual in the hierarchy of prestige in the society at large. The experiences originating in these three spheres are the principal determinants of class consciousness. The author points out that the first two factors, namely, the 'market situation' and the 'work situation' comprise the basic elements of what Marx essentially understood as 'class position', which resulted from the brute facts of economic organisation, as distinct from the 'status situation', which abuts upon the different perspectives of prestige in the phenomenon of social stratification, although class and status differences are closely related.

After exploration of the field, Dr. Lockwood sees no reason to believe that the outlook and behaviour of the clerk were a function of any psychological idiosyncrasy in his make up that could not be explained in terms of his peculiar social situation. The major features of the social and economic position of the clerk differ from those of the manual workers and differences in the attitudes of the two groups could be related to variations in their respective social environments. The internal skill differentiations with the advance of industrialisation, diversification of the occupational

structure, and the increasing heterogeneity of interests associated with this development, the incursion of the State into the management of welfare, have rendered obsolete the Marxian conception of a homogeneous class conscious 'proletariat'. It is a truism that all those who fall into the category of contractual labour do not necessarily share an identical market situation. The clerks as a group have never been strictly proletarian in terms of education, income, job security, and occupational mobility. They have had a relatively higher income as a traditional differential and a status reward. This was buttressed by the interests of employers in securing the loyalty and commitments of their office staffs, and the small part which their remuneration plays in the total cost of the enterprise relative to wages. The clerk could generally count on job security, conferring on him a relative immunity from those hazards which were the lot of the working class. Clerks have moreover non-pecuniary advantages in respect of cleanliness, comfort, working hours, holidays, marking them out as a superior type of employees. The clerks' relative proximity to the general organisation of discipline and the administrative authority have also tended to keep them at a distance from manual workers, and such conditions have not fostered concerted group action by clerks, except in those bureaucratic organisations where there are large office units, classification and grading of staffs, and impersonal and standardised working relationships with employers. Clerks have also enjoyed superior chances of rising to supervisory and managerial positions. This last factor has also been brought out in another book reviewed in this Journal³.

3. MANAGERS—A Study of Their Careers in Industry; By R. V. CLEMENTS, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1958—Reviewed by Shri G. L. Bansal in July-September 1958 issue (Vol. IV, No. 3).

Thus, the education required for the job, the rewards and responsibilities it offers, that it is clean and respectable, become the key determinants of status values : the class awareness of the clerk is seen as a faithful reflection of his class position. The social conditions flow from the prevalent methods of organisation of production, administration and distribution, *i.e.*, the work situation, with reference to the relationships with other employees, supervisors, managers, or customers involving identification with some and alienation from other groups. These lead on to the interesting conclusion that the interests and sentiments of a group are never purely economic in character and the matrix of social relations within which material satisfactions are experienced must also be considered in addition to the 'market situation'. In India, for instance, it is interesting to note that proposals of the Central Pay Commission in 1946, about the minimum pay for clerks were sought to be related to the cost of living among *Bhadralog* (middle class).

Dr. Lockwood's study brings out certain conclusions of a wider social significance, *e.g.*, attention is drawn to the interesting fact that status distinctions can aggravate or modify class-conscious feeling. For an example of the former, it is explained that during German industrialisation working class antagonism was exacerbated by the social isolation of this class in prestige terms from the rest of the middle class society and that this has been generally true also of

other European countries. By contrast, in the United States, where status distinctions were much less rigidly drawn and manual work did not carry the same social stigma, the effect was to alleviate class conscious feeling of manual working class, and democratic manners played an effective role in the pacification of the American working class. These observations are of considerable import in the context of our democratic set-up in India. Caste consciousness in India—originally a caste having been a democratic society of a sort including within its fold persons of almost all class gradations based on economic status—might, until a decade or two before, likewise have exerted a moderating effect on acerbities in working class consciousness.

The author also points out that the influence of prestige or social standing is to be detected in all class situations and is not peculiar to that of the 'black-coated' workers. Nonetheless, in the processes of change in the last half century, class factors have tended to prove more important than status factors in the explanation of variations in the development of 'black-coated unionism' making the line between the middle and working classes less distinct.

The book will be found useful by students of sociology and provides a good example of methodology to research scholars in social dynamics. It will also be found interesting reading by the general reader.

—B. D. Tewari

THE CIVIL SERVICE IN INDIA; By NARESH CHANDRA ROY, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay. 1958, xx, 328p. Rs. 15.

Shri Naresh Chandra Roy has published a scholarly and extremely well-informed book on the Civil Service in India for which all students of Public Administration in this

country will be grateful to him. The work is obviously the result of considerable painstaking research which goes back to the early days of the East India Company. This

historical account shows how many of the ideas which we now regard as almost axiomatic had to be fought for and decided over long periods of time. No serious student of Public Administration, for instance, now advocates anything than a system of competitive examinations for recruitment to the higher Civil Service and yet, this was by no means so self-evident a proposition to the authorities concerned at the end of the 18th century. The idea of competition developed slowly in England and patronage died hard. The intermediate system of training future civil servants of India in a special institution set up for this purpose at Hailesbury was for some period of time regarded as a substitute for open competition. The account of how this system functioned is of great interest to the students of administrative history even if it is not of considerable direct relevance to the present-day problems.

The work is also of great historical interest in so far as it traces the struggle for Indianisation of the services. The problem of Indianisation attracted much greater political attention in the 19th century than it did at a later stage of the struggle for freedom. The attitude taken up by the then British authorities also betrayed their anxiety not to do anything which will loosen their hold on the country. The struggle was in part a political one, but it is to the credit of the author that the history of the struggle has been narrated without any political bias. It is easy, in fact, it is tempting, to inject our present-day ideas on a controversy which raged in a different

context and to point out how those who opposed Indianisation as well as even those who demanded it had erred on the side of conservatism. Political controversies have, however, to be judged not by standards and events of later days but by the ideas current at the time in question. It is for the historian to maintain this objectivity and place the controversy in its proper perspective. In this Shri Roy has certainly succeeded for he has given an objective account of the controversy and narrated the history of events from the point of view of the time in which the drama was enacted.

While the book is of very great interest as a historical account of the development of the Civil Service up to the stage of Independence, one would have hoped for a more detailed account of the subsequent developments. It is, however, perhaps too early to expect such an account for the events are too close to form the subject of historical scrutiny and assessment. Nevertheless, the time will come when this excellent work by Shri Roy would be supplemented by a more detailed and critical assessment of the developments which have taken place since Independence.

The book I have no doubt will be studied with great interest not only by students of administrative history but by practical administrators today. It is only such a study which will give the administrator some idea of the traditions he is here to and make clear to him the role which he is expected to play.

—R. C. Dutt

BOOK NOTES

CABINET GOVERNMENT AND WAR 1890-1940; By JOHN EHRMAN, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, xi, 138p. 16s.

The book contains an extremely illuminating, historical account of the development of British Government's organisation for War from 1890 to 1940. The author does not carry the account beyond 1940, as he feels that it would be unwise to try to appraise the changes introduced during 1940-45 in advance of the authoritative military accounts, particularly when 'we are still involved in the results of those... extensive changes'. While at the end of the last century the British administrative system barely recognised the demands of war, the system had already been gradually adjusted to meet these demands on the eve of the first world war and to undertake further unprecedented strains. The author traces the process of adjustment—the origins of a system of Cabinet Committees co-ordinating the executive functions of departments in the 1890's, its growth and development during 1906-1915, its extension and reorganisation between 1916 and 1918, and its consolidation during the rearmament period of 1919-40; its final survival at the end of the second world war is also touched upon in the concluding part.

The account shows how the Cabinet Committee of Imperial Defence, with its large network of sub-committees, was evolved and developed in response to the needs of an imperial and maritime strategy and how, as a flexible and pragmatic form of organisation, it was able to cope with the problems of consultation, co-ordination and general super-

vision in regard to demands of war. A full-fledged Ministry of Defence, on the other hand, would have hardly served the purpose. The latter would have confused the relations between the British Cabinet and other Commonwealth Governments and would have also disturbed the pattern of existing departmental responsibilities to Parliament. The Committee of Imperial Defence, however, could not solve the problems of supply and it was found necessary to establish a Ministry of Supply in August 1939. The Cabinet Committee system, on the whole, showed great flexibility and resilience and made it possible for the British Government to meet the war demands without disturbing the parliamentary institutions and traditions of the country.

The author also brings out the role of top political leaders in the continuous process of the adjustment of the governmental machinery to war demands. Here, "Balfour, Haldane, Lloyd George and Churchill among Ministers, Sydenham Clarke, Hankey—above all Hankey—and Ismay among the officials, are the most prominent figures in a process which might well not have emerged or survived without them." On this point he concludes: "It is sometimes said that good men can make any system work. It seems extremely doubtful; and in any case good men, placed in such a position, have usually done their best to see that the system is changed. At best, an inadequate organization cramps and disturbs the efforts of those who have to run it: at the worst, it nullifies them. The members of Lloyd George's War Cabinet were probably men of higher calibre than

those of Mr. Churchill's. But the Cabinet system worked far better in the second case than in the first."

BUILDING CONTRACTS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES—*Studies of Administrative Methods—Number Seven*; By ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, London, RIPA, 30p. 5s.

This is a report of a short study conducted by the Royal Institute of Public Administration at the suggestion of one of its members, a County Treasurer, who found that the final accounts of new buildings were consuming excessive administrative skill and time in checking and counter-checking. The study details at some length the various stages in the erection of a building and stresses the importance of advance detailed planning and careful execution at each stage. The recommendations addressed to local authorities, the architect, the quantity surveyor, the chief financial officer and the builder, are directed towards simplifying the work steps, avoiding wastage of skill and time, balancing and expediting work-flow, and facilitating prompt settlement of final accounts. It is emphasised that variations to agreed plan should be scrupulously avoided; measuring should keep pace with construction; and the final account check should be limited to ensuring accuracy and should exclude examination of technical aspects.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN; By NASIM ZAKARIA, Lahore, New Publishers, XII, 222p.

Despite the recent abrogation of the 1956 Constitution, the book may be of interest as it contains a modest attempt to analyse the nature and scope of parliamentary control in Pakistan. The Foreword by Prof. Abdul Hamid, Head of the Department of Political Science and History, Go-

vernment College, Lahore, explains: "It was probably the French thinker Montesquieu who discovered the suitability of torrid zones for an absolutist form of government. Be that as it may, it is hoped that this little book will stimulate a search for political patterns appropriate to the genius of the East". There are informative chapters on the Cabinet, the Civil Service, the Comptroller & Auditor-General, the West Pakistan Provincial Administration, Local Self-Government, Political Parties, etc. in Pakistan. The author laments the absence of ideal relationship between the ministers and the civil servants; he also cursorily refers to the quota system in regard to the recruitment of persons to the Civil Service from the Eastern and Western parts of Pakistan.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA; By PHILIP J. HARRIS, London, Cambridge University Press, xii, pp. 348 30s.

This is "a work-book for officials, a text-book for students and a detailed study for the citizens" on the system, practice and procedure, finance and personnel of Local Government in Southern Nigeria. Local Government there derives its powers from the laws made by the legislatures of the Western and Eastern regions; the Regional Governments exercise considerable control through the system of grants-in-aid, Inspectorates, audit and restrictions over senior staff appointments and dismissals. The local government system in Southern Nigeria basically consists of three tiers—divisional or county councils, district councils, and local councils. These councils have, in addition to responsibilities in the field of social service and economic development, the duty of the prevention of the commission of any offence by establishing a local police force, prison, etc.

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA; By MANGAL CHANDRA JAIN KAGZI, Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co., Private Ltd., xxviii, 335p. Rs. 10.

In addition to a fairly detailed survey of the various aspects of the Constitution of India, the book contains short but informative chapters on 'Delegated Legislation and Control of Administrative Rule-Making' and 'Civil Services'. The constitutional provisions in regard to both these matters are supplemented by case law. There are numerous references to important statutes, cases and recommendations of various commissions.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISES IN INDIA; By. M.C. SHUKLA, Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1959, viii, 232p., Rs. 10.

In this useful addition to the literature on the subject, the author analyses the nature and scope of public ownership, classifies public enterprises in India under different objectives and examines their various forms of organisation, in particular the public corporation and the government company. The content of autonomy, we are told, varies with the nature and the purpose of enterprise; the government company is more flexible and can function as successfully as a commercial company. There are interesting chapters on Parliamentary and Ministerial Control and Board of Directors. The author favours the establishment of a Review Board in the executive branch of government to carry out 'efficiency audit' of public enterprises; the Estimates Committee as at present constituted is too large for effective work and not appropriate for organisational and administrative studies; a separate *ad hoc* Parliamentary Committee on Public Enterprises is called for, as also Advisory

or Consultative Committees for different State enterprises. The disputes regarding the power and autonomy of the non-departmental enterprises between the Government and the enterprises should be arbitrated by a tribunal; similarly, the allocation of profits should be left to an independent tribunal—the Planning Commission could act as such a tribunal because it can see the enterprise in its proper perspective in the context of the whole economy in the country. The Boards of Directors are generally, in practice, Boards of Management; they do not enjoy the necessary autonomy in regard to policy-making which is essential for their efficient administration. The official members on the Boards should function as individuals and not as representatives of the Ministry concerned; it is desirable to have mixed Boards even if the number of non-officials is small; the appointment of Directors should not be based on the status of an individual but on considerations of merit. The Financial Adviser should not have access to the Board over the Managing Director; the burden of bringing disagreement between the two to the notice of the Board should rest on the shoulders of the Managing Director.

There are separate sections describing management, management of workers and work, the price policy of public enterprises and training of managers for competence and responsibility. Of these, the sections on price policy and training of managers alone contain a discussion of the Indian position; the remaining are an exposition of the theory of the management.

IMPROVING MANAGERIAL PERFORMANCE; By VIRGIL K. ROWLAND, New York, Harper & Brothers, xviii, 167p.

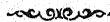
In a lucid and extremely refreshing style, the book underlines the

importance of a basic philosophy of management development, and discusses some important techniques for development of managerial personnel. Management is fastly becoming a profession, something distinct from the various technical specialities the manager may supervise. "A manager's primary job is to manage people, not things; that it is not his ability to do things himself but to get other people to do them that enables him to manage with success. One well-known study, for example, found that departments whose supervisors help with the work actually tend to produce less than those in which the supervisor confines himself to managing." We are told that the function of directing people—the essence of management—cannot be delegated; that 'It is better to have the right man do a poor job than the wrong one do a good job'; 'People do what their Boss inspects'; and that 'Better Management' can be learnt and must be taught through management development programmes.

The author discusses in detail the relative merits and demerits of different methods of appraising "executive traits" and for rating actual performance, including the 'forced choice' 'check-mark' lists. He, however, favours the essay-type appraisal by a group of four or five managers of higher level than the individual appraised. The group

should appraise both the results and the traits; the group appraisal is to be reviewed by a Review Board of three to five members from among the higher management personnel and to be further followed up by an appraisal interview granted by the supervisor to the employee appraised by him. The main object of appraisal is to improve the performance of managers; it also helps to provide a panel of names for purposes of promotion to higher responsibilities.

Other techniques for development of managerial personnel, *e.g.*, job enlargement, job rotation, training courses, selection of supervisors, setting standards of performance and 'feeding back' the results of attitude and opinion surveys to the top management, are also discussed. The role of the 'staff man' in personnel matters is analysed and 'line-staff' relationships are clarified in the context of improving managerial performance. The author emphasises the importance of explaining to the supervisors, who are not promoted, the reasons why they could not be selected for the higher job. Lastly, it is pointed out that each of the development techniques discussed constitutes only *one* of the many ways for developing managerial personnel and what is therefore of utmost importance is a continuing effort to improve managerial performance by all possible ways and methods.



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TOWARDS A DYNAMIC ADMINISTRATION

[The following is the full text of the address delivered by the Institute's President, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the General Body of the Institute, held on April 25, 1959. To enable the readers to share the experience of those who heard it, the address is reproduced as it fell from the Prime Minister's lips in a spontaneous and "thinking-aloud" style.—Ed.]

WHENEVER I speak on these occasions it is not so much about the very important specific problems with which you deal but rather on certain general considerations which, I think, are important. I am just trying to refresh my memory as to what I said last year on this occasion. I am afraid I might repeat myself, though a certain measure of repetition about important matters is not bad.

Yesterday, it so happened, I was in Mussoorie and I paid a visit to the Research Centre of the Community Development Organisation. I was very much impressed by that little Centre, only about 50-60 persons taking a course for, I think, six weeks at a time. Each batch contains a number of servicemen and a number of non-servicemen. I dislike, and I don't think it is quite correct to use, the words "officials and non-officials", which are a relic of the British times. People are servicemen and non-servicemen; that I can understand. What am I? Am I an official or non-official? I am obviously an official but I am not a serviceman. The correct description, therefore, is a serviceman and a non-serviceman, just as in our diplomatic service we might say a particular person is a careerman or a non-careerman, though they are both in service. So both these are, I find, mixed up at this Research Centre, but when I stopped a little while at the Centre I did not meet them, as normally I am supposed to meet people. When I pay a visit the people are generally collected together and I am supposed to address them, which may be sometimes helpful

but not very much, and certainly I get no idea of what they are doing. But this time I found them carrying on their work separately. Each group, which, for some reason I could not understand, was called a syndicate; and each syndicate was discussing a subject heatedly. There were seven syndicates and the idea was to discuss a subject for two weeks or so, then draw up a report and circulate it to other syndicates which discuss it. Ultimately all syndicates meet together for a joint discussion of their individual reports. Obviously this method seems to me superior to listening to lectures. If two people come out, meet and criticise each other's views on a subject, their consideration of that subject becomes more and more mature and deeper.

So I was rather impressed by this method, specially in a study of a subject which is not a subject about which you get too many precedents, which is a dynamic, growing subject. In a sense community development in its various aspects covers such a variety of public administration that although it does not deal with higher echelons of public administration it does deal with its lower levels in the rural areas and almost everything in the rural areas comes into touch with community development. And I feel that more and more attention is needed to these what might be called the lower ranks of public administration, than to the higher ranks. Higher ranks are important. Because higher ranks get some attention they are much more in the public eye, but the lower ranks are much more important for the life of the common people. I do not know how far this *Institute* or other institutes of the kind think of that aspect of administration at the level of the petty revenue official, the petty this and the petty that, who is far more important from the point of view of the average resident of India, specially in the village, than high officials. Here, you may well recall an old story of an old lady whose son was, I believe, being tried for a very serious offence, may be murder, before the High Court. And when he was acquitted by the High Court, the old lady thanked the Judge saying : "May you rise to be a Kotwal*!". For her the Kotwal was a much more important person than the High Court Judge. She had to deal with him daily. So we have to think of the lower functionaries, for they are the base.

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Great stress is being laid at present by the Planning Commission, by the National Development Council, and generally by Government on panchayats, co-operatives, etc. One aspect of that stress is that these organisations should not be officialised, that they should be

* Circle police official.

controlled by the people of the village who form the members, and that the official element should be rather distinctly advisory—of course, helpfully advisory—but not at all in the sense of bossing over, interfering, and not allowing, if I may say so, the members of the panchayat to make any number of mistakes. Let them make mistakes; let us accept that a mistake is often better than the helplessness and powerlessness which comes from somebody sitting on top and carrying on the business of the panchayats. They will never grow by that. Now that is an important emphasis. There is nothing new about it. But it is an emphasis on the great part of the administration in the lower levels being carried on by the non-service elements, the non-official elements; and that brings new problems in its train. Presumably, when you deal with the administration most of the time you are thinking more of the service—not always of course. Now, as the country advances and specially as it advances towards the socialist pattern, there are likely to be more and more people engaged in Government service, the State services, at all levels. That is bound to happen. But far more persons should be engaged in administrative service in a voluntary way, in a non-service manner. In fact, we should draw in almost every active member of the public to do something or the other, in some form or the other, in some way, and thus have a large network of administration. I should like this *Institute* to devote its attention to the study of the administrative problems lower down the official scale, and more especially to the question of the non-serviceman coming into the picture and taking part in administration at the lower levels and growing as he does this work because the most important thing is that when he does it he grows.

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Nowadays we are talking a good deal about co-operatives, and it is suggested that we should cover every village as a co-operative, barring perhaps—I do not know—some special areas, like tribal areas, which will also have co-operatives, maybe of somewhat different kind. Now this is a pretty big undertaking—having every village in India as a co-operative. Again that requires a good deal of work, some kind of training, sometimes highly specialised, sometimes a little less so, and I take it that Governments—State and Centre—are going to take steps to train people of every type through highly specialised courses, maybe of a year or six months, shorter courses of a month, even shorter courses for the panchas and the sarpanchas of three or four days, just to explain to the millions of villagers to give them some idea of co-operative and panchayat work. We are launching out, in this way, in new directions outside the scope of our old admi-

nistrative apparatus and we want to give far greater power to panchayats and to the village co-operatives than they have today, knowing full well that they may misuse it, make mistakes, and the like. The mistakes of the panchayats will not endanger the security of the country. We can survive it. But they will suffer for it, they will learn from it, and the public will learn from it too.

In fact, the biggest mistakes or the biggest of errors that we commit are the errors of not doing things or delaying things. I am convinced of that. A mistake is far better than not doing a thing. You can rectify an error but you can never catch back the time you have lost by not doing something. Enough stress had been laid, in my address last year, on what I have said above. This year also, a reference has been made to this question of delay, to procedures which involve delay—apart from the individual's slackness, it is procedures that involve delay. In spite of every effort, we still go through procedures which involve far too great delays. We have to be careful. There is a word which has a bad odour about it. It is a big word—bureaucratisation—too much bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is essential. Bureaucracy means organised work. There is nothing wrong about it—about work in an office; but if we have too much of it, it grows by—what is it called?—Parkinson's Law. Bureaucracy really has an amazing capacity to grow and create work for itself which is not wanted for public purposes at all. We then work for each other. We have to be always on our guard against this and the best way to avoid all this trouble is to avoid processes involving delay.

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The other day I was in south India, in the southern districts of Madras. It had nothing particularly to do with public administration, but I was very much impressed by the rapid improvement being made there in primary education. In numbers alone, of course, the progress has not been much, but it was very impressive and heartening. Every two miles I had to stop because there was a school and the children were lined up. I travelled about 49 miles by an open car, and you can imagine hundreds and thousands of schoolchildren, vast numbers, standing by, and many of them of amazingly small age; to me they looked to be 4-5 years and upwards. The Madras Government has specially introduced midday meals and what they call school improvement societies. I went to two conferences of school improvement societies and I was astonished at the bigness of their organisation. Each had about 12,500 teachers, and at least a considerable number of them were women, collected together

and discussing their problems in an orderly way—how to improve their schools. There was a wonderful display of gifts; it was an astonishing display really. The quantity itself was impressive, all collected from parents, and others, for the improvement of the schools. What was more significant was a spirit of enthusiasm among the teachers and parents and all concerned, and all co-operating. There were many Catholic schools and other schools, all co-operating in this. That heartened me more than many things that I usually see.

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We are today giving a great deal of intensive thought to the third Five-Year Plan, the approach to it, the size of it, the content of it. We are still in the initial stages although we have been discussing it very deeply for at least six months. We want the greatest discussion, the greatest consideration not in a wishful thinking way, not in a general way as perhaps inevitably we have had to do when we started our First Plan but in a more detailed and concrete manner, looking well into the future; because the more you think of the Plan, the more you have to look to the future in five years, ten years, 20 years, in a perspective way. The Plan is for every aspect of our life and it affects even our institutional approaches; and the problem comes up to us in various ways. How far the present type of institution is suited to the type of society for which we are working? Some institutions are good, I am not criticising them; but it is not a question of goodness or badness but of fitness. How far the existing institutions will fit in with the type of society that we are trying to evolve? This *Institute* will have to keep this particular matter very specially in mind and try to follow the thinking of the evolution of the third Plan from the institutional point of view. There are sometimes discussions and criticisms, specially in Parliament, about the public sector or the new corporations and other undertakings in the public sector that are functioning; and, I think, it is a very good thing that these criticisms take place in Parliament, though very often they are not wholly justified. Nevertheless, it is a good thing. Of course, the private sector has no such tribunal to face, unless some major development takes place, when something may be said in the newspapers. But the newspapers are always full of questions and statements and discussions on the public sector.

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Now I do not wish to be unfair to anybody but I should like to say that my firm opinion gathered after some knowledge is that the public sector in India today is infinitely superior to the private sector.

I have not a shadow of doubt about it; it is superior in competence, superior in economy, and superior in the general outlook it is developing or the general public outlook. And I say, more especially, that, in spite of all the criticisms and the numerous errors and mistakes that we have made and we are making, it is more efficient and more economical. Despite occasional errors here and there, I am very pleased at the way the public sector is developing in India, whether it is the Sindri, whether it is the Chittaranjan, whether it is the Machine Tools, whether it is the Telephone Factory or any other project. You cannot easily adjudge the Hindustan Aircrafts : projects like these you can only measure by cost efficiency. Nobody gives them any publicity, not much, so that I should like to put on record my appreciation of the public enterprises. Even if you take the iron and steel plants, which are criticised, I think, they are very fine achievements—Rourkela and Bhilai. I should like to say that it is a very heartening sight how our people are working in the public sector; they are doing very good work.

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There is one thing to which I referred last time too. Ultimately, an administration has to work with some objectives in view, more especially in a dynamic society. Administration is not obviously just doing some odd job, putting a note on a file, etc. It has got to aim at an objective. If the objective is, let us say, the Plan, the Second Five-Year Plan, or the third Five-Year Plan that is coming, or, let us say, a socialist pattern of society which we aim at, then surely the administrator has to think of that. He is not some kind of a static person who does not apply his mind to the basic objectives. He is working to an end, and must always keep that in view even in small things as also in big things. It may be, of course, that the manner of doing something may differ as there are differences of opinion but the basic objectives should be inscribed in the room, on the walls of the administrator's office. That is "Where we are going to?" has to be remembered; only then can the institutions we have, be worked to that end properly.

Well, you have honoured me by electing me again as the *Institute's* President, in spite of the fact that I only appear here once a year; and I am grateful to you for it. Thank you.



THE DEVELOPMENT BLOCK AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM ?

Howard W. Beers and Douglas Ensminger

IN describing village "circles" and community development "blocks" in India, one might quip about round plugs in square holes. A time has come, however, when the block as a new part of socio-political organization can be an appropriate object of serious sociological study.

British practice in India of government through administrative and judicial functionaries (divisional officers, district collectors and magistrates) in charge of designated areas has been cited as a natural forerunner of the post-independence *development block*¹. It has been documented in many places that district boards and taluk boards were formed in all the provinces during the last 30 years of the 19th century². The British had spurned traditional panchayats apparently for two reasons, first they couldn't be controlled readily enough and second they followed caste divisions. So the government used the ryot and zamindar to collect land revenue according to patwari records and under the administration of the tehsildar. It was in the interest of none of these functionaries to strengthen local democratic self-government!

These district and taluk boards were "appendages" to the offices of higher government, and such control as they had reached into lesser problems of communications, health, and primary education. About 1920 a feeling began to develop that village panchayats should be built up and that district boards should be elected instead of appointed (nominated). Taluk boards were eliminated, and independent India at first had only some panchayats and some district boards. These were the existing semblances of rural local self-government. Concern for hospitals and major roads had begun to pass over to State Governments, and within the past decade the new programmes of community development have presented the people of India with the block. Meanwhile, views on the form which rural local government should take have differed but concurrence grows that local

1. V. Nath, "Area Development" in *Kurukshetra*, October 2, 1957, pp. 45-47, 174-175, New Delhi, Ministry of Community Development, (reprinted in *Community and Development Review*, March 1958, pp. 58-64) Washington D.C., International Cooperative Administration.

2. K. Santhanam, "Changing Pattern of Rural Self-Government", *Kurukshetra*, January 1959, p.336 ff.

government must exist, and it must function with vigour and health, as intended by Article 40 of the Constitution of India.

The block unit comprises a hundred villages, more or less, and was formed to execute the development programmes which are the nation's urgent preoccupation in its first exercise of independence. The block's chief executive or administrator is the new and notorious block development officer (B.D.O.), variously viewed as an upstart and usurper on the one hand, or on the other as a fulcrum of all progress! Although some blocks are more or less coextensive in boundary with old tax collection areas (taluks or tehsils), and although pre-independence government did have certain "developmental" undertakings, typically the block is a new real unit, with a new function and many new and commanding problems of organization.

Although three patterns of organization have been recognized since the inception of the work in 1952 (community development, national extension service, post-intensive phase), it will suit our need in this discussion to consider the single concept of community development extension block.

Essentially the block and its organization are simple and easily described. Villages are grouped in "circles" of five to ten each, and served by Gram Sevaks, one to a circle. The block, with its 10 circles has a staff over which the B.D.O. presides, being responsible vertically to a District Development Commissioner who is over several blocks, and then, through the latter to the State Development Commissioner and the State Development Board or Committee. Nationally the leadership and responsibility lie in the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation. Members of the block staff include representatives of the several departments which carry out developmental tasks. As members of the block staff they are specialists responsible to the B.D.O. and serving the villagers through the Gram Sevaks in their various circles. As members of various departments they have other duties some of which involve inspection, regulation, control and statistical reporting performed with the knowledge of, but not under the control of the B.D.O. The block is thus a device for co-ordinating locally the services of several but not all departments.³ The departments concerned with Public Works and with Irrigation, for example, are typically not included.

The block has crucial importance in India's plans hence it attracts equally the vigorous compliments of critics, and the almost cultish endorsement of believers. Established already in half of

3. B. Mukerji, "Administrative Co-ordination in Community Development", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, January-March 1958, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 19-30.

India, and projected to cover the nation within a few years, it bears the weight of governmental expectations, and it runs always the risk of facing popular disillusionment over real or presumed failure to achieve.⁴ With the block, government has introduced (1) a *new unit* of action and administration with (2) a *new function* (development), (3) a *new category of functionaries* (multi-purpose workers : B.D.O. and Gram Sevak), and (4) a *new procedure* (extension education). It, therefore, attracts applied research,⁵ and exists as a suitable context in which to take observations for analytical study.

THE CONCEPT : SOCIAL SYSTEM

Is the block only an artefact of government? Will it become solid and established, or will it be a passing phase in the organization of India's government? To what extent will it become a *social system* permanently embedded in the network of the total society of India? This is the question to be explored in a tentative manner in this paper. To find an answer it is necessary to consider the nature of a social system and the elements which it comprises.

An acceptable classification of the elements of a social system includes *belief, sentiment, end, norm, status-role, power, rank, sanction, and facility*.⁶ Our task at the moment then is to survey the development block to see whether it contains these elements in such a manner as to reveal whether or not the block is a present or emerging social system.

To the reader unfamiliar with such a list of the elements of a social system only slight explanation will be needed. Belief and sentiment can be taken in their usual meaning; ends are goals or purposes; norms are the established rules of acceptable behaviour in a group (system); status-roles are the positions occupied and parts played therefrom by members of a group; power is merely influence or authority exercised within and by the system; rank is the ordering of position on a scale between low and high; sanctions are the rewards and penalties accorded for behaviour that is approved or disapproved; —facilities are any additional devices or instruments by which goal achievement is undertaken. These, then are the "stuff" of social systems, and this nomenclature now recognized rather generally among sociologists is not unwieldy even in popular discussion.

4. At the end of 1958, there were 2405 blocks, with a population of 165 million (56 per cent of India's total) in 302,947 villages.

5. S.C. Dube, *India's Changing Villages*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958.

6. C.P. Loomis, "Systemic Linkage of El Cerrito", *Rural Sociology*, 24:1, March 1959, p. 55.

ARE THERE BLOCK BELIEFS AND SENTIMENTS?

The block was established by action of high government, but fiat does not create a social system. The latter exists only when relations have developed among persons in such a manner that the requisite elements can be noted. So we may ask first whether enough belief and sentiment have come into focus around the block to distinguish it from other social systems. Is there a body of belief (in knowledge and truth), or is there a cluster of sentiment (feeling) that is unique to—or at least generally associated with the block?

The central new belief or value in a development block might be said to be *progress*, or directed change toward improvement in production, income, levels of living and in social organization. Belief in progress is by no means peculiar to the block, nor is it even widespread within a block, but it is clearly a *raison d'être* of the block. The old values of "tradition for tradition's sake" persist, however, and block personnel have many struggles to accommodate to old beliefs which are barriers to progress, as when villagers complain about the nuisance of surplus and useless cattle, but do not adjust their beliefs to permit any remedy. Exceptions may be noted too: the tabus of untouchability with respect to food and drinking water are seen to break down here and there. In some villages some of the women are less determined to remain unseen when a visitor looks at the improvements in their houses. Vaccination and inoculation, malaria control measures, disinfection of drinking water and many other changes portend the acceptance of and belief in progress. In these matters, of course, sentiment is involved as much as belief.

Associated beliefs (some of them often referred to as values) are the spreading opinion in India that government is for service as well as for rule, that progress is a consequence of education and "democratic" action. There is belief in aided self-help, in experimentally tested agricultural practice, in the "group approach", democratic decentralization, the electoral process, and the potentiality of panchayats.

The block then rests against a background of beliefs and sentiments that gave it birth and that continue to promote its existence and development. The special character of this environment of beliefs and sentiments reveals unity so far as certain symbols of ideas are concerned; independence, development, education. But complete unanimity of beliefs and sentiment is not required of a social system. The discussions between believers and non-believers, the tensions revealing differences of sentiment, themselves are patterned and structured and are thus contained within the unity of the total system.

The sentiment of membership loyalty has hardly yet emerged; not all villagers know whether or not they live in a block. Not all who live within the block and know it have any feeling of "membership" or identification. Away from home, no villager would think to report his block as his location; he would name his village, then his taluk, district, and state. If and when the block has become a fully developed social system, sentiments of membership-consciousness, and loyalty will be more prominent.

It cannot be shown that the beliefs or sentiments are a monopoly of the block. It is clear too, that certain beliefs and sentiments are held by some while repudiated by others among the functionaries in blocks and among the villagers in a block population. But from these and related beliefs one can see the tentative convergence of a belief-cluster attaching to the community development block in India. The general environment of belief and sentiment is present for the emergence of the block as a fully developed social system. The special clustering of beliefs and sentiments around the development block, attached to it and detached from other systems, is not visible but there is evidence that the clustering process has begun. Whether it will continue, accelerate or eventually reverse direction may not yet be known, and at present each of these trends is possible.

ARE THERE BLOCK "ENDS"?

The purpose for which blocks exist are of course harmoniously related to the context of belief and sentiment. Study of evaluation reports supplemented by field reconnaissance indicates that knowledge of the word, "development", is fairly common and there is wide agreement that it is an acceptable end. The word is variously interpreted, however.⁷ By one meaning, development refers to increased production and income. By another it means development of the community itself, as a social system within a new context of democracy. The two formulations are not completely dissociated, but they differ in degree of idealism, or in stress on "community" itself as a value.

Relatively, development is a new purpose in India. Earlier the common purpose was to get independent rule, and before that, historically the main objectives of Indians varied with the times, sometimes in resisting conquest, but usually in maintaining the *status quo* and preventing change. The end is now dynamic; it takes the form of concrete expectations that seem to stagger such efforts as are possible

7. Reports, Programme Evaluation Organization, Planning Commission, Government of India, Nos. 1 to 28, 1953-1958.

to achieve by democratic or educational means. When the villagers are asked to speculate on what a visitor would find ten years hence there is an outpouring of predictions that would be an unwieldy agenda covering everything from roads, schools, irrigation water, electricity to improve farm yields, and new or improved houses.

A much discussed manifestation of *ends* in India is the "target". The target is a concrete expression, in numbers or rupees, of what should be physically achieved in the nation and its subdivisions, including each block. There has been criticism that the "target" is imposed, like the sales quota on an American auto dealer, and that "targetosis", perverts the true ends of development. The change now becoming more manifest is the process of determining block targets by internal study and discussion rather than by external superimposition.

Purposes or ends thus are becoming specific to the block more prominently than are beliefs and sentiments. The generalized end, development, takes the form of specific objectives for the villages and farms in a particular block. Consensus forms around targets for irrigation, roads, better seeds, etc.

Complete unanimity on ends can seldom be found, however, as is the case with beliefs and sentiments. A confusion of personal and sub-system ends exists. There are officials whose only end is promotion and salary increase for themselves; there are villagers whose end is "as much as they can get". There are Harijans whose end is to get land. The diversification of ends in a social system may increase as the system develops; multitudes of ends and targets might exist within its general limits and at times even be at odds with the dominant general goals.

Knowledge that they live in a block continues to spread among the people of a locality, their aspirations become continuously less latent and their personal and family ends converge to join the announced block goals of "development". Our conclusion is that with respect to "ends" as elements, the block presently qualifies for identification as a social system.

ARE THERE BLOCK NORMS?

This question leads us to look for "rules of acceptable behaviour" that inhere in the block, that pertain especially to the block and not to other social systems, or that are regroupings and configurations of old norms that reveal the formation of a new social system. The question is broad, because it involves the behaviour of functionaries and citizens in several status-roles. So far as functionaries of government

are concerned, there is going on a gradual and difficult—even painful, for some—alteration of norms. Pressures of ideology, and changing patterns of activity are setting up new criteria for officers. Agents of democratic development do not behave like officials—who-represent-the-ruler. Norms of service are encroaching, slowly here and faster there, upon the norms of official rectitude in an old structure of administration where decisions are made at the top, commands go down and reports come up! The struggle between old norms and newly emerging norms is revealed on many fields of action, and the outcome varies, often with victory for a time by the old. In blocks generally, however, discernible advance is noted for “young norms”. In general we can think of them as the norms of democratic action. Illustrative normative contents taking place in and around the nation’s 2400 development blocks may be identified, as in the following list.

People should be influenced toward development by education rather than by the coercive power of government.

Programmes should be based on “felt needs” rather than on diagnoses and prescriptions from above or from outside.

Widespread participation should be sought rather than merely the involvement of only a minimum-group of leaders.

Effective education for development begins “where the people are” rather than at some higher level of practice or knowledge.

Widespread and thorough discussion, even though time-consuming is preferred over effective “coups” by a dominant few.

The identification and use of natural leaders is better than the acceptance only of figure-heads of power.

The planning of developmental programmes with villagers should replace the imposition, of unplanned, or centrally-planned expectations.

Patience with slow, inefficient progress is preferable to more efficient action with clear-cut results.

The increasing disregard of social distinctions should supersede their recognition and perpetuation.

There are parallel norm-struggles over what will be acceptable behaviour on the part of villagers in their roles as villagers-in-the block. The emerging criteria will, if present efforts succeed, result eventually in having the villager:

Act on knowledge rather than on command.

Express rather than conceal felt needs.

Take part in group discussion of new things rather than remain silent and aloof.

Participate in planning and action, rather than await cues from above or resist plans and acts.

Support and follow the influence of natural leaders, rather than being resistant or indifferent.

Respect officials for their competence rather than for their position.

In a sense this phenomenon in the present development block of struggles between the normative old and the "would-be" normative new is the crux of India's whole effort to develop and it is the most critical element in determining whether or not the block is a social system. Beliefs, sentiments, ends and norms are inextricably inter-related, and they persist or change together. It is the norms, however, that control action, determining whether it may or may not occur.

The block, then is a kind of local battleground in a widespread war of norms. If the rules get written around the emergent beliefs, sentiments, and ends discussed above, and if they cluster or regroup around the block as an area and a population, they will establish the status of the block as a social system. The battleground will have become the arena of development.

ARE THERE DISTINCTIVE STATUS-ROLES IN A BLOCK?

The most tangible evidence of a social system to an outside observer is the existence of jobs, positions, special divisions of activity among members, some of whom have special stations or offices. This is all summarized by the designation of "status-role", and the status-roles in a block are perhaps the easiest of its elements to find. Broadly, we can put them in three groups: the block staff, the village "workers", and the villagers in general. The block staff has its B.D.O. in charge, and its specialists in agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operatives, panchayats, industry, and social education. The village workers are the Gram Sevikas and Gram Sevaks, probably the co-operative secretaries and panchayat secretaries, the school teacher etc. (The patwari, or keeper of the land records is an old functionary, with only quasi-attachment to a status in the block.) Among the villagers we find several relevant status-roles: natural leaders, members of panchayats, gram sahayaks, committee members, etc.

Some status-role problems emerge from the division of labour in a village. For example, women clean waste and manure from houses

and have to fill the manure pits, if there are any. Men, on the other hand, transfer manure to the fields. Yet tabus in many sections of India prevent Gram Sevaks or Compost Inspectors, who are men, from directly teaching the women. Here is seen the need to provide some way of reaching women as well as men with agricultural extension information. Because of traditional village roles of women—and also of youth, special-interest programmes and organizations for them develop slowly and in some places not at all.

A complete survey of the features of the block as a social system could be accomplished best by considering all other elements separately for each status-role. Thus beliefs, sentiments, ends, norms, power, sanction, etc. would be observed as they appear to, occur at, or affect the status-role of B.D.O., and again for the Gram Sevak, again for the Sarpanch, etc. It is not feasible to undertake such a task in this paper; the product of such exercise could be no less than a monograph, and it would require the availability of more systematic observations than are presently at hand. In fact it might even result in the preparation of a separate monograph for each of the major status-roles in a block. This article can merely stake out the directions which could be taken in such a study, and formulate presently the hypothesis that the block is emerging as a new and very important social system in India, bidding fair to be no less a feature of Indian life and government than the county has been in the United States of America, perhaps superseding almost completely the subdivision and district.

The accommodation of incumbents to the status-roles in the block is not always accomplished without travail. The specialists on the block staff are sometimes irked by their inability to serve two masters, the B.D.O. horizontally and the technical department vertically. This is a strain that has not been prevented in the block, and apparently can be prevented only by adequate role-performance of all involved. Sometimes the strain leads to expression of a wish that the block could be eliminated, and that the pre-block attachment only to a department with direct lines to district and state government would be preferred. It is a challenge to the correlating and co-ordinating insights and skills of the B.D.O. to resolve these tensions among the incumbents of the involved status-roles. There is a trend also to think of adding even more status-roles into the block staff. Irrigation is vital to agricultural production and to economic development in India, but functionaries of the irrigation departments usually are not part of the formal block structure.

There come up within the block also problems of changing the "role" without altering the status. When a Social Education Organizer is seen instructing village representatives in a Gram Sahayak's

camp in the practices of Japanese paddy cultivation he performs the role of an agricultural adviser but in his S. E. O. status. The current grave concern with food production in India multiplies the instances of this difficulty, which really need not be a difficulty once it is explained! The fear of health specialists, educationists, and other specialists is that the wave of insistence on agricultural priority is going to remove them from the development picture, and convert the block into a specialized agricultural department. Some of them think they will all lose their jobs because the Gram Sevak must give 80 per cent of his attention to agricultural production.⁸ Their "salvation", of course, will lie in applying their own energies in the behalf of food production, adjusting their roles to the requirements of the time, but retaining their status. Overly rigid concern for his "status" may keep a functionary from understanding that he can best retain it by letting his role be approximately flexible, in recognition of the priorities of the ends (goals) of the block.

One important set of influences on status-roles in the block is the gigantic training programme India has set up and continues to expand for preparing functionaries in all the jobs. There are institutes and centres to train Gram Sevaks, B.D.O.s and block specialists and all other block personnel including even camps for villagers themselves. A result is the preparation of thousands of persons for the status-roles they will have. As is sometimes said, "The whole nation is in training".

The organization of status-roles in the block continues to proliferate, and this always has implications for other elements of the block structure. The earlier formation of Block Advisory Committees did not promote rapidly enough the passing of responsibility from Centre and State Government to "the people", in accordance with announced objectives of decentralization and "people's participation". A next step was to grant these committees power to *approve* programme proposals, a greater power than that to *advise*. Efforts are now espoused to provide for *planning* programmes, a responsibility considerably greater than either mere approval or advising. The Block Advisory Committee, an advisory body, became the Block Development Committee with responsibility to approve, and the present proposal is to establish *panchayat samitis* at the block level, entrusting the gram panchayats on which much effort is now being expended. Whenever a network of gram and samiti panchayats shall have come into existence within a block, a very significant change will have occurred in the block's character as a social system.

8. *The Gram Sevak's Guide for Increasing Agricultural Production*, New Delhi, Ministry of Community Development, 1958.

The probable status of these panchayats is not always discussed realistically.⁹ Although they are announced as institutions of the people in contradiction to government they become in fact *local government*, and the suspended aerial roots of the "banyan tree" that is now government in India will be fulfilled by attachment to the ground, and communications can then originate in the "soil" of democracy, and find their way upward and outward. Sometimes it seems not quite honest to talk about the panchayats as though they are in some non-governmental category of organization. They are, or will be, it is hoped, people's institutions, but they are also government. If they can be recognized as government, the vast and long-range task of democratizing total government in India will be well on the way in direction of accomplishment. And the block then will be indisputably a social system, with all the elements required therein. In the meantime it is a violation of the norms that are struggling to emerge in India to set up an opposition between "government" and people's institutions.

A next stage in the growth of local self-responsible government may be the recognition that representative government gets each group of representatives as nearly as possible directly from the public, rather than from other bodies of representatives just as most plants—other than parasites—have their rootage in the soil rather than in the bodies of other plants. For example, members of parliament are elected by their constituencies, and not by the legislative assemblies of the states. While at present panchayat samities are discussed as bodies made up of representatives of gram panchayats, the full fruition of the idea will call for direct election by the villagers concerned of their panchayat samiti. In the block social system, as now proposed, the villager has the status-role of elector of the gram panchayat; later he may have the additional status-role of elector of the samiti panchayat.

DOES RANK EXIST AS AN ELEMENT IN THE BLOCK?

There is a diversity of ranks among status-roles, some of them new and unique within the block and some adjustments occur to problems of rank. The multi-purpose village worker, Gram Sevak, is not considered by villagers to be an official; he is not ranked by the villagers within the same hierarchy that includes those above him. There is hardly any grade to which he can be promoted unless he happens to be a university or college graduate, a qualification most village workers do not meet. It is complained also that the post of

9. Arch Dotson, "Democratic Decentralization in Local Self-Government", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, January-March, 1958, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 38-50.

B.D.O. is not open to other development workers. Outranking all other block workers, he has often been transferred from the revenue or general administrative services. Without subject-matter training in any developmental field, he outranks specialists who withhold full approval from him because of their feeling that, paradoxically, they outrank him in knowledge and capability. Remedy for this difficulty is now sought by promoting some specialists, especially agriculturists. Another problem in the block arises when the B.D.O. or block specialist "pulls his rank" on the village worker, sometimes thereby unwittingly undermining the latter's prestige with the village people. The B.D.O. who comes from an administrative hierarchy of the "old school" does not become aware of the requirement that his chief role in the new job is "supervisor" and not "boss". District level "technical officers" above the block level, are said to resent the B.D.O.'s "alienation of affections" of the block specialists. Yet the B.D.O. is not in a separate cadre of officers, he is bypassed for promotion by his parent department while a B.D.O., yet he can be promoted only by that parent department.

There are complicated ambiguities of rank in a block, and intensive studies would be revealing. The ends and norms of the block require that the block staff function as a "team", and this word appears often in the documentation. The team idea minimizes rank; each member of a "team" is equally valuable, and by this concept even the B.D.O.'s rank is removed by his task as "coach" of the "team". There are strong equalitarian strains in the social changes occurring within the Indian developmental block. The strong tradition of the importance of rank is reflected, however, in the behaviour of Indian officials generally. The rigidity of the administrative structure of obey-and-command, discussed below, may be the most stubborn barrier to the achievement of democratic development within the block. The suspicion has been heard to be voiced, in fact, that an administrative caste is forming in India.

Rank and status-role are inextricably linked in India, and it is not easy to view them separately in the village since occupation and caste are almost mutually determined. In fact, prominent aspects of status in rural India involve considerations of caste which lies behind the nature of *rank* in a social system. The national constitution formally outlaws untouchability, and Gandhi called the untouchables Harijans, or children of God. The fact of rigid caste differentiation is prominent in the village, however, and this imposes definite limits to the achievement of democratic development. In fact, when Indians use the word community in speech, they refer usually to a caste, not to a village community with several caste levels represented. Hereditary,

occupational and social status-roles effectively retard economic and social change in the block, and this situation may prevail until industrial growth has begun to demand labourers and force migration from the villages.

Some vigorous attacks are made on these factors : it is required by force of law, for example, that Harijan children be admitted to schools, and that Harijan representatives be elected to village panchayats. Questions are discussed sometimes about whether Harijan and other low-caste people who qualify educationally should be appointed to block jobs, and about what criteria should determine their posting. There are, indeed, now some Gram Sevaks of scheduled caste origin who are at work in multi-caste circles of villages.

The point is that rank in the villages severely modifies rank in the block, and adjustments in the latter depend on the context of the former. The democratization of the block, or any other system, will require the prior or at least the simultaneous democratization of the village, in which caste is such a resistant factor.

IS POWER DISCERNIBLE AS AN ELEMENT IN THE BLOCK ?

Some items which could appropriately come up for discussion under this heading have been stolen for inclusion under earlier topics, in particular those paragraphs dealing with status-roles and rank. The growing power of the block as government and shifts in power among functionaries within the block have been noted. They are countervailing to the power of vested interest represented, for example, by the money-lender "of old" and the zamindars. Then too there is the negative power of resistant tradition.

Villagers in a development block will say, "the only officials we ever saw were the tax collector and the policeman", referring to new roles of officials. However, "when will you get electricity?" "It depends upon the officials", is the reply. Or "where did you get the idea to dig compost pits?" "The Panchayat told us we had to..." or "How did you get every villager to contribute?"—"Well, some pressure was brought to bear." So the villager traditionally has felt government to be power, and this reaction remains strong within him, as he reacts to the newer approach brought to them *via* the block. The dramatic attempt of community development in the block is to introduce the power of persuasion or the influence of knowledge of cause and consequence. The block contemplates a transformation in power structure—undertaking to effect the change by the "power of peace".

The problem of the conscientious official who accepts fully the goal of development by education is to divest himself of the manner and symbols of the representative of the ruler. The block personnel have to seek to be teachers, organizers, persuaders, friends and counsellors, or they are not acting consistently with the beliefs, sentiments, ends and norms of the block.

When an old man prostrates himself before the B.D.O., the latter knocks him aside gruffly, saying, "We are equals now!" Both parties are flustered, and go on quickly with the business of the moment.

Yet there are discouraged functionaries in the block, and it can be heard occasionally that "if farmers, after all the persuasion, will not improve their farming they should be required by government to conform to our recommendations or take the consequences". These are the laggards or the disillusioned whose role has become disassociated from status and who seek uses of power inconsistent with block ends.

WHAT SANCTIONS APPEAR IN THE BLOCK?

With belief and sentiment organized around the ends of development, and in the matrices of status-role, rank and power, are there sanctions in the block for conformity or non-conformity with the norms? What are the rewards of acceptable block behaviour, and what are the punishments for violation? Again we encounter the difficulty of discussing each element as though it existed alone, whereas it has been only in the context of a systematic relation among all the elements, of each it is one. In other words, some of what has to be said about sanctions has already been said. Sanctions are present, indeed. The outstanding Gram Sevak of the year is given a motorcycle; and on the other hand, one who effects a liaison with some village faction-leader is transferred; a B.D.O. who has done well may be rewarded by promotion out of development work and back into his own department; a B.D.O. whose strenuous efforts brought additional channel outlets sooner, thus averting crop failure, is rewarded by the loyalty and near-devotion of all the villagers. The village which contributes shramdan or "voluntary" collections of money, or a patch of land, etc., is rewarded by grants from block funds. The farmer who agrees to a demonstration on his land is rewarded with free fertilizer. The man who didn't pay his last loan is penalized by rejection of his next application for a loan.

Rewards and punishments within a block, and relevant to its system of action lie, either chiefly in withholding or advancing grants,

helpful advice, praise, etc. For new agricultural practices there is a reward in higher yields, but the penalty for failure to change is not so apparent. In one village, the B.D.O. posted a woman Social Education Officer to whom the villagers objected declaring her *persona non grata*. The villagers say a year passed after this disagreement without their having another visit from the Gram Sevak ! (punishment!). In another village, the panchayat raised funds toward a school and so reported to the B.D.O.! Immediately they were given a matching grant, (reward!). So various sanctions are at hand to apply in villages. Gram Sevaks can be transferred peremptorily—as can officials above them. Sanctions of praise and spoken appreciation from superiors can be powerful rewards.

DOES THE BLOCK HAVE ITS OWN FACILITIES?

By this category we identify those socio-material features of a social system that are as integral to its being as the social psychological abstractions itemized in the foregoing essay. In a sense they are the means to the ends discussed above. Put most broadly, the facilities of a block are the natural resources of the villages, and the available technology of exploitation.

The territory of the block, being a physical thing, must be included among its facilities. Blocks are intended to include about one hundred villages, but the criteria for bounding them have not been standardized or consistently followed; many of them are much larger than the "standard" size. The areas of blocks have been variously determined with size—in space and population—a chief criterion. Whether or not there is sociologically a natural area has been largely ignored, and the wisdom of this has been questioned in evaluation reports. Similarly, whether or not there is identity with a previously recognized area of administration has been ignored or given secondary consideration. The wisdom of this has also been questioned. Expediency determined the bounding of blocks, and studies could well be made now of the differential relevance of size, relationships to other areas and units and other factors to results. If and when the block becomes a fully developed social system its area will be clearly identified as "belonging" to the block, and it will be distinguishable and marked off from other areas by signs, maps, and by the awareness of members and non-members.

Important among the facilities are also "block development" funds, available as incentive payment, matching funds, subsidy, grant, etc. Villages outside of blocks until now have lacked this important

facility. More than 90 per cent of all development blocks in the country had postal facilities ; 63 per cent had telegraphic facilities (September 1958). Block members have a headquarters with some office space, and probably one jeep and their personal bicycles for transportation. They may have a movie projector and one or two items for visual aid. The block headquarters, in fact, are among the most conspicuous features of the Indian landscape now, and some of them have become new villages. In some blocks, quarters have been built for the Gram Sevaks, but generally the villages contain no lodging or boarding places, and Gram Sevaks claim hospitality for meals and overnight rests. Many Gram Sevaks have no facilities other than their personal bicycles and bed rolls. Most personnel in the blocks feel needs for additional facilities for their work.

A representative "facilities-problem" that vexes block workers is that of supply line—for commercial fertilizer, for improved seed, for spray equipment, etc. Another facilities problem emphasizes the difficulty of co-ordinating developmental work with that of other units of government. This is illustrated by the problem of irrigation, vital everywhere in India, and attended to by another department of government.

There is continual striving to get more equipment, supplies for demonstrations, constructions, etc. In the conspicuous effort of the block to augment its facilities we find one of the most convincing evidences of its existence as a social system.

CONCLUSION

The complex nature of the block has been only a little simplified by this exploratory analysis of its character as a social system. This effort is perhaps more an exercise in sociology than an excursion into public administration. Perhaps it should be identified as political sociology, or administrative sociology, but these fields are delimited for heuristic rather than scientific reasons, and phenomena flow within and across their borders in little regard for the habits of pedants.

For sociologists, the authors hope that this approach to the block as a social system will provide a background against which many research efforts may be formulated. To students of public administration we propose only that blocks which develop into social systems will function more influentially in the total political structure than blocks "on paper".

As in all instances of planned change one must anticipate that there will be what Merton called the "unanticipated consequences".

The only way to prepare for results that cannot be foretold is to maintain a poised combination of firmness and flexibility that permits readjustment as new factors come into view.

The block, then, with the circles of villages in it, is a new organization, completely set-up by government, not yet completely formed as a social system, but well "on the way".

The territoriality of the block is in question—as to size and social ecology, and the facilities employed by the block in furtherance of its ends are changing in nature and in balance, as between money, subsidy, new technology, emphasis upon agriculture, educational materials for demonstration and teaching and similar considerations.

Consensus with respect to its ends is still to become settled; the chief pathology of the block, so far as ends are concerned, has been misuse of "targets" which have been said in some sense to have diverted attention from true goals, and fixing on means instead (the compost pit, rather than higher yields, for example).

The norms of behaviour in the block represent an aspiration of leadership in the new nation rather than a condition of full acceptance in the block social system. Teaching rather than coercion is being pushed, but has not yet come to predominate. "Needs" met are as likely to be the needs of the officials as of the villagers. Democratic participation develops slowly because the rank-and-file villagers are inexperienced in taking part and officials are inexperienced in trusting them with responsibility for action. To begin "where the people are" seems at times to be starting "too far back". Discussion has a hard time replacing formal debate or argument. Natural leaders represent caste or family groups and haven't yet a concept of overall village-community plus national responsibility. Planning programmes locally is a violation of old practices. Patience is hard to exercise when a young nation is eager. Social distinctions persist.

The generalized shift toward belief in progress is conspicuous in the blocks of Indian villages, apparently more so than in villages still out-of-block, but supporting sentiments are hardly yet developed. A hazard lies in the rapidity of change from acceptance of *status quo* to demand for progress. There is already a faith spreading in the block, almost mystically, in the efficacy of education, but even the block officials lack confidence in the power of persuasion. They still like power of office, but are gradually gaining confidence in the power of learning. Problems of rank and status are among the strongest deterrents to success. The hierarchical tradition in administration and the rigidity of caste in the village are being battered down

(or at least pounded a little) by the emerging new social structure, but they are the most stubbornly resistant of the elements in the block system. Economic development, increased income, and movement to industry eventually will lend strength to the forces of change here. The sanctions in the new block social system are not strong enough to accelerate change to the speed that planners and leaders desire. But when the block "arrives" as a fully developed social system it will no doubt be seen also as a new and basic unit of local government, at once child and parent of a strengthening democracy.

A FUNDAMENTAL APPROACH TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME*

Iqbal Narain

THE word administration is derived from the latin 'ministrare' which means to manage.¹ Administration, therefore, means the management or actual conduct of affairs. All human actions have to pass through three stages. First, there is the stage of resolution, when goals are fixed and objectives are defined. Motivated by certain ideals and interests, men individually or collectively set before themselves some goals and objectives. Secondly, there follows the stage of planning when a detailed plan is devised to realize these goals. It is here that an effort is made to find out the ways and means to reach the prescribed goals and to chalk out a plan of action. Lastly, there comes the stage of action, when actual steps are taken according to the plan of action to realize the prescribed goals in the form of positive achievements. This stage of action, which generally takes the form of co-operative endeavour,² as without it no large-scale achievement is possible, is what we technically understand by the term administration;³ yet administration cannot be divorced from the objectives and the plan to realize them. For administration is essentially a scheme of means⁴—the mere servant of ends or policy which embodies both the objectives and the detailed plan to pursue them. The fact is that objectives, plan and administration act and re-act upon one another. If objectives determine the nature of planning and administration, these in turn prescribe the extent to which objectives can be realized.

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1. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. Sir James Murray, Vol. I, Oxford, 1888, p. 117.

2. Herbert A. Simon Donald W. Smithburg, and Victor A. Thompson, *Public Administration*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, p.3: "When two men co-operate to roll a stone that neither could have moved alone, the rudiments of administration have appeared. This simple act has two basic characteristics of what has come to be called Administration. There is a *purpose*—moving the stone—and there is *co-operative action*,—several persons using combined strength to accomplish something that could not have been done without such a combination".

3. Cf. John A. Vieg, *Elements of Public Administration*, ed. by Fritz Morstein Marx, New York, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1946, p. 3: "Administration is determined action taken in pursuit of conscious purpose".

4. Cf. John A. Vieg: "Whether the sphere of interest be public or private, administration is always the servant of policy. Management—the largest part of administration—denotes means, and means have no significance except in terms of ends". (*Ibid*).

A discussion of the fundamental approach to the administration of rural community development programme⁵ should, therefore, take into consideration (a) the nature and objectives of the rural community development programme, (b) its implications in terms of planning, and (c) its fundamentals in terms of administration.

THE CONCEPT, THE NATURE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME⁵

The rural community development programme is a composite term—a fourfold concept. We have to analyse the words that constitute it so as to get at the full implications of the concept.

'Rural' pertains to a village. One needs hardly offer an apology for thinking of community development primarily in terms of villages. For "ours is a world of village communities, of peasants and pastoralists who spend most of their lives within the small group of kith and kin, and whose values have their roots there."⁶ For example, "India is a land of villages, because villages house 82% of her population."⁷ We have, therefore, to begin with the question: "What is a village?" Without entering into the niceties of defining a village, one can agree with Phillips Ruopp, according to whom villages "are composed of groups of kith and kin, friends and relatives living together in the same place, sharing the same fundamental values, and participating in regular activities in which the frequency of personal encounter and inter-

5. The Community Development Programme has been undertaken in a variety of ways and under different names, such as "Community Education", "Social Programme", "Cultural Mission", "Welfare Commissions", "Rural Centres", "Rural Social Centres", "Village Aids" etc. (See Carl C. Taylor, "What is Community Development in Kurukshetra: *A Symposium on Community Development in India, 1952-55* (issued by the Publications Division, on behalf of the Community Project Administration, November 14, 1955, p. 31). In our own country, it operates through the National Extension Service Blocks and the Community Development Projects. Though at the risk of a digression, yet for the sake of clarity, these two media of rural community development may be distinguished from each other in these words of Shri V.T. Krishnamachari: "The N.E.S. is a permanent organization and will cover the whole country. It provides the basic organization—official and non-official—and minimum financial provision for development... N.E.S. blocks in which successful results have been achieved with the maximum popular co-operation are selected for intensive development for a period of three years. These are called Community Projects". (V.T. Krishnamachari: *Community Development in India*, New Delhi, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, p. 10.)

It is for this reason that in the title the words "*Rural Community Development Programme*" have been deliberately chosen to keep the title at once broad and general without tagging it to the community development institutions or approaches of any particular country.

6. Phillips Ruopp, *Approaches to Community Development: A Symposium Introductory to Problems and Methods of Village Welfare in Under-developed Areas*, W. Van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague, Bandung, 1953, p. 1.

7. *Community Projects: A Draft Handbook* (issued by Community Project Administration, Planning Commission, Government of India, 1954, p. 137).

action is high. Common residence, common values and common activities—these form the tripod supporting the village community”.⁸ A village thus is essentially a homogeneous group of people among whom various barriers are artificial, even if seemingly strong, and the bond of corporate life is a tangible reality. Even in Indian villages where we do not have homogeneity in all its pristine purity owing to casteism and personal factions, assuming too often a legal form, a sense of corporate life and fundamental unity is not altogether missing. It is certainly latent and it has got to be roused to become an active working principle of life.

Now let us turn to the term *community*. The term community, of which the village is just a form, is a much debated term. If one were to indulge in over-simplification, one could say, in tune with the United Nations Report of the Mission on Community Organisation and Development in South and Southeast Asia that, “by a community we shall usually mean a number of people who, by virtue of living in a locality, may be presumed to have important interests in common”.⁹ The community is not, however, merely an area or the people living in an area. “It is”, as observed by Sanderson and Polson, “rather a pattern of association or a common behaviour in which the people of the area participate to form a definite system of social interaction in which they play a part and by which they are more or less controlled.”¹⁰ On this criterion the learned authors have also defined a rural community : “A rural community is that form of association maintained between the people, and between their institutions, in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a village which is the centre of their common activities. The rural community is a locality group. It is composed of the people and their institutions which are located in a given geographical area; but, as is true of any group, the real community consists of the established relationships

8. Phillips Ruopp, *op. cit.*, p.4.

Cf. Aristotle: *Politics*, (tr. Barker), Oxford, 1946, p.4:

“The most natural form of the village appears to be that of a colony or off-shoot from a family; and some have thus called the members of the village by the name ‘sucklings of the same milk’, or, again, of ‘sons and the sons of sons”. Cf. Alexis de Tocoqueville: *Democracy in America*, Oxford, 1946, p. 56: “The village or township is the only association which is so perfectly natural that wherever a number of men are collected it seems to constitute itself.”

9. *Report of the Mission on Community Organisation and Development in South and Southeast Asia*, United Nations, December 1953, p.3.

10. Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Community Organisation*, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1939, p. 50.

Cf. Lloyd Allen Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education*, New York, Mc. Graw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 27: “A Community is a population aggregate, inhabiting a contiguous territory, integrated through common experience, possessing a number of basic service institutions, conscious of its local unity and able to act in a corporate capacity.”

which are recognized by them as more or less controlling their behaviour or psychic interaction between the people and between their institutions within a local area."¹¹ It is thus obvious that community, whether rural or urban, is not a mere geographical entity or a mathematical proposition—so many people living adjacent to one another in one and the same area. It is a subtler and a deeper concept, more qualitative than quantitative, more spiritual and psychological than the mere fact of physical existence of a number of people in a contiguous area. The concept of a community does not postulate 'living' but 'living together', not the 'individual self' of man but his *social self*; not so much diversity of life, interest, thought and action as their unity, not the pursuit of one's own ends, single-handed and irrespective of the social good but joint endeavour to promote common good with a sense of social responsibility.¹² Community thus signifies not atomistic existence of men but their integrated and corporate life, with all the intricate and endless threads of relationships, problems of behaviouristic pattern and moral norms that it involves. As observed by Brownell, "The community is less an attribute of some function or interest... than an integral whole which is organic in structure, limited in size, concrete in context, substantive in syntax."¹³ One cannot, therefore, glibly talk of community development as a political slogan because it involves not merely material or economic development, but also development at such higher and subtler levels as moral, ethical, intellectual and psychological. It is also equally certain that owing to the subtler aspects of life that a community development programme has to take note of, its administration on proper lines becomes a difficult, intriguing and at the same time a very important problem.

Let us now turn to the third constituent of the title *i.e.*, 'Development'. The term 'development' as associated with community brings to our mind several ideas. First, development is to be distinguished from change. A change may be sudden and artificial as opposed to natural, while development is gradual and part of a natural process almost organic in nature. Development thus is the slow but spontaneous sprouting of seeds into flower and fruit trees or the long, tedious

11. Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

12. Cf. Phillips Ruopp: *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5: "The word community is charged with ambiguity; its associations and meanings are many and subtle. It is not only the attribute of every group brought together by the fusion of certain integrative forces such as shared locality and shared interests. It is also something to be achieved, such as the national community or the world community. For it is at the same time a descriptive and normative concept. It is as much an 'ought' as an 'is'..... The chief virtue of the concept of community is that it emphasizes the qualitative aspect of human development rather than the quantitative. It properly subordinates the quantitative to the qualitative."

13. Baker Brownell, *The Human Community*, New York, Harper & Bros., 1950, p. 269.

and wearisome growth of a child from infancy to adolescence and from adolescence to youth. There is thus no short cut to development. It has to be a long process, if the growth is to be organic, natural and stable. The more the area of backwardness to be covered, the longer is the process of development in terms of time and magnitude. The rural communities in India as in all the under-developed countries are very backward. The process of their development has, therefore, to be both slow and long.

Secondly, development is a conscious changeover for the better; it is, therefore, a rationally argued and scientifically planned scheme of gradual social change in terms of well-defined development targets. Development thus is essentially purposive—a scheme of means for the realization of something better, healthier and more desirable in terms of human well-being and progress. As observed by Phillips Ruopp, “social development, as distinct from social change, is the purposive alteration of conditions. Development signifies change from something thought to be less desirable to something thought to be more desirable. It further signifies and emphasises the rational direction of human organization and skill towards the attainment of the desirable. Development, then, is purposive and purpose in human affairs is moulded by individual and social values. But development, like community, does not justify itself. It can be justified only by its purpose. Although it is true that ends are present in means, development is essentially a means to the ends determined by a society’s system of values.”¹⁴

Thirdly, development is essentially a multi-purpose term, more so in the context of a rural community. This is so in three ways. In the first place, community development has to take into account the development of both the individual and the community because they act and re-act on each other; they help and supplement each other’s growth. “The community is not prior to the individual nor the individual to the community. They are concomitants one of the other. There is no community rebirth, no community development where individuals remain unborn. There can be no justice for the community and no communal fulfilment unless there is justice and fulfilment for individuals. The community may not depend on John Jones or George Smith for its existence and health, though it is physically and morally diminished by their death and desertion. It does depend on individuals who share a common life.”¹⁵ In the second place, development has to be overall, integrated and complete. It should not aim at developing the partial self of man but his complete self, not one aspect of the life

14. Phillips Ruopp, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

of the community but all its aspects.¹⁶ It has to be a *multi-purpose* scheme of development of the community in all its aspects—social, economic, political, educational and even moral and psychological. The various aspects of the life of the community are so interdependent that they cannot be developed in isolation and development of each, if taken up as part of an integrated scheme, contributes to the development of all its other aspects. In the case of a rural community this integrated or *multi-purpose* approach to development is all the more essential as the rural communities by and large are under-developed not in one particular aspect of life but in all aspects almost equally. As observed by the Report of the Mission on Community Organisation and Development in South and Southeast Asia, "At the national level, as well as in community projects, there is need for a balanced or integrated or multi-purpose approach. Properly conceived community programmes will contribute to overall improvement."¹⁷ In the third place, the rural community development should involve a strengthening of the community ideal. The ideal of the rural community development is not merely to re-generate people materially, educationally and politically but also to regenerate them 'communally' (i.e. as a community). It should integrate people in thought, feeling and action and thus awaken and vitalize the community sentiment, making them develop a community identity¹⁸ with common outlook, spirit, opinions and loyalties, a sense of co-operation and partnership

16. Morris Ginsberg has suggested the following three criteria of development: (1) the growth of man's control over the conditions of life i.e., his natural environment, his society and himself, (2) the growth of co-operation within and between societies, and (3) the growth of freedom in co-operative relationships. His point of emphasis is "If, however, development is understood as consisting in a process whereby a full realization or fulfilment of human capacities is gradually attained, that society might be regarded as most developed which evokes the most spontaneous devotion to common ends among its members and releases the greatest fund of intelligent energy". (*Vide: Reason & Unreason in Society*, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1947, pp. 32-33).

17. *Report of the Mission on Community Organisation and Development in South and Southeast Asia*, op. cit., p. 13.

The Report has emphasized the necessity of a *multi-purpose approach* in these words: "The primary requirement is to increase income so that more consumers' good can be bought and the community can provide for itself more and better communal services—village amenities, health, education and so on. The main need here, of course, is to improve agriculture. Indeed, the national pressure to become self-sufficient in food requirements is the main origin of multi-purpose community development. But it is also recognised that increased agricultural production, a necessary foundation for the extension of national services, cannot be brought about on any scale unless the twin obstacles of disease and ignorance are simultaneously attacked. It may be futile as we have observed in some areas to introduce improved seed, manure and cultural practices until irrigation is provided; but the full benefits of irrigation require the introduction of these things as well. Sometimes irrigation brings malaria with it so that a malaria control programme is required". (*Ibid.*, p. 19).

18. Cf. William M.C. Dougall, *The Group Mind*, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1926, p. 206: "Individual minds become more completely integrated in proportion as they achieve a full self-consciousness, in proportion as the idea of the self becomes rich in content and the nucleus of a strong sentiment generating impulse that control and override impulses of all other sources."

in all walks of life and a passion for community welfare and development through vigorous community effort which should become a matter of habit rather than something imported and enforced.¹⁹ If on the contrary the tissues of community life get weakened during the process of development, the concept of rural community development would become a contradiction in terms.

Fourthly, the *multi-purpose* approach makes the task of community development a gigantic affair, which can, therefore, not be taken up as governmental project even by the most resourceful and competent of the world governments. The rural community development programme has, therefore, to be organized very largely on the basis of the *principle of self-help*. The idea that the community should help itself in a co-operative endeavour to effect its own all-round development is thus inherent in the very concept of community development. It may also be emphasized here that self-development is not only the best but is also the only real development. What is that development in which the object of development remains inert and passive and does not cultivate initiative, self-reliance and self-help even in the process of development? Obviously, therefore, the cultivation of initiative, self-reliance and self-help is at once the inherent end and the only method of the rural community development. Thus the rural community development should largely be a development of the entire community by the entire community. All members of the community—children, both boys and girls, young men and women, old folk of both sexes, educated and illiterate persons, peasants and artisans, labourers, both skilled and unskilled, teachers and the students—should pool their resources together and combine with their heart and soul in this great adventure of self-development. This is what the U.N. Report means when it says that the “programme should aim to

19. This is what a sociologist would call the process of *socialization* which has been ably described by Dr. E.W. Burgess as follows:—

“The socialization of the person consists in his all round participation in the thinking, the feeling, and the activities of the group. In short, socialization is ‘personality freely unfolding under conditions of healthy fellowship.’ Society viewed from this aspect is an immense co-operative concern for the promotion of personal development. But social organization is not the end of socialization; the end and function of socialization is the development of persons. The relation is even closer; personality consists, almost wholly, in socialization, in the mental interaction of the person and his group. The person is coming to realize that, in achieving his interests, he must at the same time achieve functional relations with all other persons. In this achieving of right relations with his fellows, in this capacity of fitting, ‘into an infinitely refined and complex system of co-operation’, the development of personality consists”. (*Vide: Ernest W. Burgess, The Function of Socialization in Social Evolution*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1916, pp. 236-237.)

In fact Sanderson and Polson consider this aspect of community development as criterion of its success: “One measure of community organization is the degree to which organizations and interest are willing to co-operate in activities of the common welfare for which they are not primarily responsible and in which others will take the lead.” (*Vide: Sanderson and Polson, op. cit.*, p. 83).

be multi-focussed. Success in a programme is likely to be greater, if it is recognized that different sections of the people can contribute to it."²⁰ No one is superfluous in the schemes of the rural community development; all are equally useful, important and hence indispensable. It has to be noted, however, that the community development at least in its initial stage will be *largely but not exclusively by the community itself*. The Government of the day has to play a positive and significant role which we shall discuss later. It is not enough that the rural community development should be *multi-focussed*: it should be, as the U.N. Report correctly stresses, *multi-processed* also.²¹ It hardly needs an explanation because an approach to a *multi-purpose* scheme has necessarily to be *multi-processed*. Education in the ethics and art of community development, persuasion by an appeal to the social conscience of the community, compulsion in the form of law, precept enlivened with practice, theory illustrated with example, are some of the general facets of the *multi-processed* approach.

It is time now to turn to the last word in the title *i.e.*, 'Programme'. It stands for a scheme with distinct objectives, plan of action and directives about its operative details.

To sum up: the concept of rural community development postulates:—

(1) That it is an attempt at developing a sizable section of people who are basically homogeneous, bound to one another by common interest, similar modes of life and outlook and a common

20. *Ibid.*, p. 21. Illustrating the point, the Report continues, "The primary social and economic unit is the family, and the strength of this unit will be enhanced and its effectiveness in promoting self-help increased, if a programme takes account of all its members, and not simply of the head of the household. Women may contribute to family income, if trained in spare time occupations. If they are shown better stoves and taught the rudiments of nutrition, the comfort of the home and the nutritional value of the food consumed are more likely to be improved than if efforts are concentrated on the farmer as producer; and the best way to encourage production of food in the garden or on the farm to give a more balanced diet, or encourage better sanitary practice, is often to persuade the women. Women normally control the purse strings—within limits, so that some guidance in home economics will make for better spending of slender incomes. Parents may be stimulated to action through their children. This is a key element in the approach to rural betterment of community schools in the Philippines. Women may be persuaded to make improvements for the sake of their children which would be neglected otherwise—and in any case we are interested in a continuing process, the success of which in the future depends much on the young people and children of today." (*Ibid.*, p. 21).

21. *Ibid.* p. 21. Illustrating the point, the Report continues, "The need for education, in the sense of both persuasion and showing 'how' is apparent enough. It is also apparent that many different techniques of education must be used to reinforce each other or for different groups or purposes. This need not be enlarged upon. But to awaken perception of needs or train skills is seldom sufficient. Supplies of necessary equipment, fertilizers, seed, DDT and so on of the right kind must be available at the right time. People must be organized to perform the activities for which education and supplies have prepared them. Frequently the law must be revised to remove obstacles or provide the necessary powers or opportunities. So we are concerned with manifold processes directed to manifold and interrelated objectives". (*Ibid.*).

area which they inhabit and hence having a sense of corporate life and mutual loyalties;

(2) That the development herein aimed at is *multi-purpose* in the sense of all-sided and all-round development that treats of life in the community as an integrated whole and, therefore, seeks to improve all its aspects—individual, social, economic, hygienic, political, educational, moral and even psychological;

(3) That one of the important aspects of the *multi-purpose* development of the rural community is the strengthening of the communal bond, making the people realize themselves as a community, and as partners in the great adventure of self-development;

(4) That as a result of this *multi-purpose* approach the task of development becomes gigantic and, therefore, slow and steady;

(5) That the complete process of development thus visualized has to be a co-operative endeavour—at once official and non-official, more and growingly non-official than official;

(6) That by and large people's participation is at once the aim and salutary method of rural community development; and

(7) That the process of rural community development has at once to be *multi-focussed*, harnessing all sections of the community and *multi-processed*, employing all devices suited to the objective, educational, moral, legal, recreational and so on.²²

(To be continued in the next issue)

22. The concept of rural community development has been variously analysed. Phillips Ruopp is of the opinion that "Community development, in which reciprocity, intimacy and unanimity are central should be the beginning and end of all large-scale programmes of economic and technical assistance. It is in the nature of community development that it must come from within* through the greatest possible participation of the people in accordance with needs determined by their values, relying on persuasion rather than compulsion and mediating with the needs of region, nation and world." (Phillips Ruopp, *op. cit.*, p. 20)

According to the U.N. Mission Report, "We...consider...the multi-purpose community programme is an application of the principles of extension education to rural betterment and increased production. But agricultural extension is often restricted in meaning to the extension of technique specifically related to production with special emphasis on the wider application of the results of scientific research. The community project is a particular form of organisation and administration of extension education, which concerns itself to a greater extent than is usual in the west with the organisation of supply and promoting rural organisations for self-help activities, such organisation being, in effect, integrated into the administrative system. The community project is also an agency for the provision of services such as health and general education, usually provided outside the extension system in western countries and the co-ordination of such services with agricultural extension in an integrated programme. So for reasons inherent in economic and social conditions the connotation is wider than the usual connotation of agricultural extension." (*Vide: Report, op. cit.*, p. 19).

According to Sanderson and Polson's brilliant analysis, "the aim of community organisation is to develop relationships between groups and individuals that will enable them to act together in creating and maintaining facilities and agencies through which

they may realise their highest values in the common welfare of all members of the community." (Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, p. 76). The learned authors emphasize upon the fact that the specific objectives of community organisation are : to obtain consciousness of community identity; to satisfy unmet wants; to obtain social participation as a means of socialization; to obtain social control; to co-ordinate groups and activities; to preserve the community from the introduction of undesirable influences or conditions; to co-operate with other communities and agencies to obtain common needs; to establish a means of obtaining consensus; and to develop leadership. (*Ibid.*, pp. 77-83.)

According to Carl C. Taylor "Community Development.....is used only to describe the methods by which the people who live in local villages or communities become involved in helping to inspire their own economic and social conditions and thereby become effective working groups in programmes of national developments. The term community development programmes is used to describe only those administrative plans and operational procedures which implement community development objectives." (*Kurukshetra*, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

Lastly it will not be out of place to turn to the Indian scene. According to the First Five Year Plan, "Community Development is the method and Rural Extension the agency through which the Five Year Plan seeks to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages." (*Vide: The First Five Year Plan*, p. 223). In order to evolve a programme to give effect to this principle, three distinguishable aspects should be recognised:

(1) Introduction of the National Extension Service as the permanent agency in the rural areas with the block as the unit for planning and development.

(2) Promotion of community development as the method for:

(i) Achieving unity of thinking and action, between all official agency, the people's agency and the people ;

(ii) Transformation in the social and economic outlook of the people chiefly through village organization, *e.g.*, panchayats, co-operatives, youth clubs and mahila mandals; and

(iii) intensive area development based on multi-purpose approach.

(3) A programme that consolidates and reinforces the agency and 'the method' and seeks to promote all aspects of rural life such as will become the normal pattern of the welfare state in action. (V.T. Krishnamachari, *Community Development in India*, *op. cit.*, Appendix III, pp. 52-53.)

Clifford H. Wilson has well put the contents of Community Development Programme in India in these words "The Community Project Programme in India is a complex of many efforts in agriculture, health, education, social services and other ways; yet in a broad sense it is only the giving of opportunity in full confidence that India's rural citizens will take advantage of that opportunity" (*Vide: Kurukshetra*, *op. cit.*, p.17)

POTENTIALS FOR PUBLIC-ADMINISTRATION RESEARCH IN INDIA

Phillips Bradley

THE future of public-administration research in India is a challenging topic for practitioner and academician alike. As is the case in other countries, India is perhaps at the threshold of significant advances in analysing the administrative process "in depth." Although many excellent studies, official and unofficial, are available on different aspects of administration at all levels of government, some strike the reader as more descriptive than analytical, more formal and traditional than genuinely interdisciplinary. This situation exists, in fact, in many countries and as to most studies in this area of human action.

India is, however, fortunate in several ways as to pushing back the frontiers of research in public administration. First, it has a broader field to survey. The expansion of public enterprises, which is the avowed policy of the Government, opens up areas of administration not usually thought of as public in a country like the U.S. The "yardsticks" of appraisal can, therefore, include wider aspects and considerations than in some other countries.

Second, several broad-gauge studies, such as the Gorwala and Appleby Reports, have indentified problems, indicated difficulties, suggested lines of action as to various aspects of public administration. These studies have been complemented by numerous studies of the administrative process in functional areas or in governmental units by both public and private agencies and by scholars. Together, they form a rich resource for further research, analytical as well as descriptive.

Third—and not least important—India has developed a significant research potential in this field in the Indian Institute of Public Administration and in the similar if less inclusive institutes at Lucknow and Patna. The growing number of university programmes in the field supplement these more concentrated institutes and provide an important base for research, individual and co-operative, among scholars and students of public administration. Neither personnel nor materials are lacking for a significant research advance. What, then, are some of the major directions of the advance?

THE GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS

India is both a federal state and a parliamentary government. Its civil services operate at three levels of administration: local, State, and Centre. They function in particular relations with the elected representatives at these levels.¹ The inter-relationships involved on the one hand, purely administrative and, on the other, administrative-political, suggest a significant area for further analysis. A series of "case" studies of particular relations in the different contexts noted would almost certainly yield new insights into the actualities of administrative behaviour and attitudes.

These studies might well be initiated within each of the three levels of government. More information about behaviour and attitudes might well be collected in the first instance in the framework of "single" situations. The more subtle aspects of inter-relationships would undoubtedly be revealed and thus more complex studies "in depth" would emerge as new areas for analysis. With the present wide distribution geographically of scholars (as well as of research agencies), this type of study on a concentrated basis should provide, within four or five years, a useful body of new information and insight.

A different approach to the governmental process in administration may be identified as functional. There is in India an extraordinarily wide range of governmental organization—designed to perform a variety of functions. The "old-line" agencies are organized on traditional patterns found in all governments. The purely public enterprises and the public-private partnerships are probably more widely developed or projected in India than in any democratic country. How administration is conducted in these different types of organization offers a wide range of opportunity, first, for detailed description and, second, for analytical comparison.² The whole spectrum of public and semi-public enterprises, Centre and State, needs detailed analysis of organization and operating procedures. Comparative studies of the working relations of these agencies to the Government and to the people's representatives in Parliament and the state legislatures would raise many theoretical considerations for further analysis.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS

Within these broader boundaries of administrative organization

1. See, for instance, *Hindustan Times* (May 18, 1959), for discussion of this question at the local level in Rajasthan.

2. The recent publication of the I.L.P.A. '*Organisation of the Government of India*' (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1958) is a significant pioneer description of Central administration. It might well serve as a model for similar studies at the State and local levels.

and procedure lie many more focussed areas for detailed analysis. On the one hand a comprehensive study of functional agencies—from top to bottom—would provide the basis for many new types of comparative analysis.³ These studies might well include the operation of the different agencies not only at the Centre but as to their State and local units and as to their inter-governmental relations. Such functions, for instance, as taxation and tax-collection, community development, welfare programmes, or irrigation are only some of those in which both internal and inter-level administrations might be fruitfully explored.

On the other hand, many opportunities for individual and comparative analysis exist within agencies. Any of the formal subjects of public administration, such as Personnel or O & M, provides a springboard for more intensive study of their operation and effects. Take, for example, the comparative clearance of "actions" within different agencies. Little is known, outside official circles, at least, as to the flow of paperwork in different agencies or at different levels of government. Constant criticisms of delay in one agency or another appear in legislative debates and in the press. What are the causes—and the cures? Objective analysis, not alone by the responsible units in the agencies but by experts drafted from outside, might well yield new insights and provide the basis for improvement.

It is certainly unnecessary to catalogue here an index of programmatic studies of the administrative process in India. Many governmental agencies are conducting their own research into their operating procedures. A few scholars are at work on different aspects of the field; more will undoubtedly turn their attention to public administration in the years ahead. The areas and topics requiring analysis will emerge from the day-to-day operations of the whole range of functional activities undertaken at all levels. They will be identified by experience of government in action. One or two areas may, however, be noted because they may suggest inquiries along somewhat different lines.

One is at the opposite relational end from the legislative: the judicial. The legislation creating many agencies provides for internal quasi-judicial review as well as for judicial review of administrative determinations. Other legislation creates what amount to administrative courts (such as the Labour Tribunals). Experience with the operation of both types of quasi-judicial review since Independence is now sufficient to provide a substantial body of research materials as

3. Again the projected I.I.P.A. series on selected central agencies will provide a useful start in this direction. It will need to be expanded to other agencies at the Centre and also to State and local levels.

to this aspect of administration. The procedural as well as the substantive side of these agencies deserves careful analysis to determine their relative effectiveness from many viewpoints, from protection of the civil rights of the parties to expeditiousness of decision. Comparative studies at the Centre and in the States are both feasible and highly pertinent.⁴

The second area which may be noted is a universal problem in both public and private administration: the relations between "line" and "staff". On this question there is much literature, pragmatic and theoretical, from the experience of many countries. Without attempting here to reconcile conflicting theories, every top administrator sooner or later confronts the issue of how to integrate these two aspects of his job—and of his team. As administration of a particular function becomes more complex or is allocated additional responsibilities, the staff side seems almost inevitably to outrun its line. If nothing more is involved, the establishment of effective working relations between these two essential groups—in any organization—absorbs much of the chief's time and energy. Careful analysis of line-staff relations in a variety of agencies at all levels of government would no doubt provide useful insights into the problem today in India. They might well point to areas where both economy and efficiency might be enhanced.

RESEARCH TOOLS

Research in the various aspects of public administration just noted—and many others—involves no special "mysteries". All the social-science research tools applicable to a particular problem are available as they may be relevant. Many problems are, for instance, susceptible of statistical analysis; others may be most effectively explored by descriptive techniques, historical or contemporary.

THE CASE METHOD

One tool, the case method, is widely used and significantly useful today in studying the decision-making process in public administration. Although its origin lies far back in the history of medicine and law, it is now at work in other areas, notably in business management for about forty years and, more recently, public administration.

Without attempting to describe or evaluate its techniques or uses in detail, there is a substantial body of public-administration case

4. The Indian Law Institute is also interested in this field. Co-operation between that Institute and the I.I.P.A. would undoubtedly produce more significant studies than either working alone.

materials available, especially from U.S. experience. The Inter-University Case Programme (I.C.P.) now includes over 30 university members. The I.C.P. develops its materials from "live" sources—the participants in particular administrative situations being analysed—rather than primarily from written records. Records of all types, from files to newspaper accounts and official publications, are, of course, utilized. They provide ancillary materials by which to check or supplement the participants' data or memory of events.

In its nearly 15 years' experience, the I.C.P. has developed well over 60 cases relating to many facets of public administration at all levels of government in the U.S. So far, the effort has been to cover a variety of situations rather than to concentrate on a few areas of administration. Diversity in treatment as well as in subject-matter is evident from a perusal of I.C.P. cases. Already, however, students of the field are beginning to examine the possibilities of research on the case materials (as has long been possible in business management, where many more cases have been developed). Systematic review of comparative case materials, in order to extract generalization and hypotheses, is clearly a next step in public-administration research in the U.S. As the body of materials increases, research on the research underlying individual cases become increasingly possible. Transfer of case-study scope and method from one administrative milieu to another is considerably more fruitful than transporting a body of case-materials findings across national or cultural boundaries. Materials unrelated to the conditions, structures, traditions, work-ways, of an administrative system will be of little academic or pragmatic research relevance. What is needed, therefore, is importation, not of the substance but of the process of the case method. How might the use of the case method in analysing public administration in India be accelerated?

Some Conditions for a Case Programme

First, of course, several conditions essential to the development of case materials must exist—or be created. Among them are: willingness of administrators to subject their past actions to clinical review, and availability of sufficient data, from written or oral records, to provide a clear picture of a situation. Unless these two conditions are met, few useful case materials—beyond a collection of perhaps helpful "readings"—will emerge. Confidentiality of public records is, of course, a requirement in all governments. Past, even recent past, situations need not, however, necessarily be cloaked for ever in anonymity. In many situations, moreover, reasonable anonymity can be preserved. Once the objectives of case-development are understood, the limits of confidentiality can be both respected and restricted.

Collection of good "case" situations and collection of the relevant data becomes, therefore, largely a matter of the administrator's acceptance of responsibility for his historical actions and of the case reporter's good sense and discretion. This possibility does not seem beyond the range of attainable goals for public-administration research in India today.

A second requirement for developing a public administration case programme is an adequate plan. The I.I.P.A. and its sister institutes can provide the framework for a case-collection plan. Their staff are competent to blueprint a plan which would make possible rapid development of a wide variety of case materials at all levels of government from many regions in India. With their colleagues in other institutions and in governmental agencies, a workable programme could be established rather quickly and, no doubt, many useful case situations identified.

A third condition is the necessity of training case-collectors. In many situations, senior instructors (or government officers) would no doubt collect the essential materials. As the programme expanded, new personnel might be required—and would need preliminary instruction and in-service experience under supervision. Here, again, the I.I.P.A. and its sister institutes are available, if and when required.

RESEARCH TRAINING AS A TOOL

It is unnecessary to detail the various usable tools for research in public administration. The value of training in research methods—in all the social sciences—may, however, be noted. Many training projects are already in being in India; governmental agencies as well as academic institutions are evolving more or less comprehensive "courses" of this type. It is generally recognized that, in whatever specialized field with however limited essential techniques a research worker is engaged, he should be at least acquainted with the whole kit of the social scientist's research tools. Thus, a generalized course in research methods seems desirable, including whatever specific emphasis a particular field may require.

Might not the I.I.P.A. and similar academic foci initiate a concentrated and co-operative approach to training for research in public administration? A small conference or working committee of "experts" in research techniques as well as in public administration could establish at least the broad outlines of a syllabus for a training course. If the common elements were identified, and the special aspects for particular emphasis of public-administration research

defined, the syllabus would prove useful in advancing research methodology throughout India. It would prove useful not only to academic students of but to the practitioners in the field. The quality of the research product would, moreover, almost certainly be improved as commonly accepted procedures for particular types of study were more generally applied.

THE FRONTIERS OF RESEARCH

One prerequisite for effective research in public administration, as in other fields, has become increasingly evident over the past quarter century : the interdisciplinary approach to problems. The fields of public-administration research noted earlier, as of many not mentioned, have, in the past been analysed by specialists trained primarily in a single discipline (predominantly political science). This tendency has been deeply rooted in all countries in the academic tradition and practice of dividing knowledge into conventional "packages" for more convenient and detailed analysis.

Efficient as this tradition and practice may be as the basis for a university curriculum, it does not any longer meet the conditions or complexities of contemporary society. Life—and public administration is no exception—does not "behave" this way. Only the most routine aspects of any operating system, economic, political, or social, can be conveniently compartmentalized in this way. Even routine aspects of a given field, moreover, soon throw up many apparently irrelevant, often intractable, facts which, like "human relations", complicate if they do not frustrate the routines. In the higher levels of action, especially wherever decisions have to be taken, the intricacies and inter-relationships of the situation are likely to be of primary concern to the administrator. He is too often, however, unacquainted with other approaches to the problem than those falling in the area of his own training and experience—is, indeed, often unaware of their existence.

It is, of course, impracticable for a single individual to acquire sufficient specialized knowledge in several fields to equip him as an expert in all. Nor does he need to. Economy and efficiency in the use of expertise from all the relevant fields suggests that a diversified team will often be more effective than the single specialist. In analysing a complex problem (and few problems in public administration are simple), an interdisciplinary approach will generally prove more illuminating, and so, more useful.

All the social sciences have made contributions to research in public administration: political science, law, history (for comparative

studies in time), and sociology (from Max Weber to the present) have provided usable research perspectives as well as new tools for the researcher. These traditional disciplines have, however, been too often isolated from one another in the planning and execution of research design—and in training for public service. This compartmentalization of approach has been even more true, until recently, as to the use of the so-called “behavioural sciences,” chiefly anthropology and psychology.

It would go beyond the limits of this paper to explore in detail the contributions which these newer disciplines are making to social-science research in general. Their utility for research in public administration is real—if so far too little recognized or applied. Administration, public or private, at all levels is concerned with the behaviour and responses of small and large groups, with the operation of boards and commissions, with diverse human reactions to hierarchy and discipline. Nor are some of the existing action areas of public administration devoid of behavioural implications. The operation of public corporations, the impact of industrialization and automaton on new societies and regions, the “explosion” of metropolitanism, for instance, require analysis of the human factors involved in alternative public policies. The list can, of course, be almost indefinitely extended.

THE TEAM APPROACH

Too frequently in the past—in all countries—public policies in such areas have been shaped only to fail, because of the neglect (generally from ignorance rather than intent) of the implicit human factors. It is just here that the newer “behavioural” disciplines can make a major contribution to both practice and research in public administration. What is needed is a closer integration of all the relevant disciplines—at the appropriate points in planning and executing research, as well as in policy in action.

Several aspects of integration may be noted. First, the problem of communication among specialists in the different disciplines seems to become more rather than less acute, as each discipline becomes more refined. Each develops a language of its own—often almost incomprehensible to the uninitiated. Perhaps the solution lies at two levels. First, the student of public administration should be introduced during his training to a broader understanding of the scope and techniques of all the social sciences. Training should include at least a working knowledge of their major findings and of their special analytical tools and procedures. A second need is to reintroduce him periodically to the advances made in each. Whether he is in public or private

employment or in university teaching and research, he should have access to "refresher" services (e.g. short courses). The utility of this kind of updating of knowledge is a commonplace in medicine. Is there any reason why it should not be in public administration?

A second aspect of integration lies in the area of research design and execution. Here, the "team approach" seems highly relevant to promoting more effective public-administration research. Here, too, the start might well be made at the training level—and particularly in research-methods training. Any course in research methods would be enriched by including staff from all the relevant disciplines in its design and conduct. When specific research projects are under consideration—in government no less than in the university—mobilizing all the relevant social-sciences disciplines at the start will often prove useful. The planning of a research project is likely to be more fruitful if all the specialists who will ultimately be required are a part of the team from the start. The same consideration applies, of course, to the team which will conduct the research. If some specialist is brought into the project as an afterthought, when the need for his expertise becomes evident, neither his contribution nor his attitude to the project will be so positive.

These comments may suggest ways in which the scope as well as the conduct of public-administration research can be broadened. As the newer "behavioural" sciences are brought into play, the frontiers of research in public administration will be extended in two ways. First, in some of the traditional areas of public administration, the "depth" of research will be enhanced as few facets of old problems are examined. Second, new research areas will emerge, as the techniques and generalizations of these newer disciplines are focussed on practical problems such as those noted above (metropolitanism and the like).

NEXT STEPS

Two further points may be noted as to the frontiers of research in public administration. First, there is already in existence a considerable body of research reports on different aspects of Indian administration. The number of reports is steadily expanding—at almost a geometric rate. Would it not be useful to make a concerted analysis of the scope, methodology, and findings of the existing literature—as a basis for planning future areas of research? Much insight into the ecology of Indian administration would no doubt result. Further, knowledge of the more effective procedures, as well as of the gaps needing further analysis, would emerge. Areas in which studies of

identical situations, structures, procedures, overtime would be useful would be identified. A historical and analytical study of the existing Indian literature might well turn out to be a research project of major utility—for the future.

Second, would not a broadly based committee on public-administration research prove useful? Experience with the former Public Administration Committee of the Social Science Research Council, the Public Administration Clearing House, and the I.C.P. in the U.S., indicates that some kind of central agency for planning research cannot only suggest new directions but stimulate research activity. The Government of India is already well equipped with tools for co-ordinated research planning and execution. The Planning Commission itself, with its Research Programme Committee and other panels, provides this kind of focus within the Government. The UNESCO Research Centre at Calcutta, although responsible for a wider area than India, is an important potential clearing house. Numerous specialized social-science research institutes exist in India; their contributions to public-administration research can be substantial. Finally, the I.I.P.A. and its sister institutes, as well as other university specialists in the field, form a nucleus at the core of the subject.

Could these groups somehow be brought into closer working relations, on a continuing basis, advances in public-administration research would certainly be accelerated. Here, the I.I.P.A. might well take the initiative, first, in forming a representative committee on research programming and, second, in organizing periodic conferences on public-administration research. The committee would certainly be useful to university researchers in indicating work in progress and developing new areas for co-operative (interdisciplinary and inter-university) research. The conference would serve the same ends and also provide a forum for discussing broader questions, such as Government-University co-operation, training, methodology, long-range objectives. It would, at the least, bring together the most interested specialists and facilitate communication among them.⁵

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This brief survey of the research potential in public administration in India today should not, of course, be considered an adequate

5. An incisive analysis of the present state of public-administration research in the U.S. will suggest many further possibilities in India. See Mosher, F.C., "Research in Public Administration: Some Notes and Suggestions," 16th Public Administration Review (1956), p. 169. Dwarkadas, R., in "Scope of Research in Indian Public Administration" in his book, *March of Public Administration*, (Hyderabad, Book-Mandir, n.d.) suggests many useful "next steps".

blueprint for the future. It is intended only to suggest some lines, substantive and procedural, along which advances might be made. Those engaged in ongoing research, in planning its strategy and tactics in government at all levels as well as in the universities and specialized institutes, are its best architects. How they adapt their own experience and that gleaned from other countries to the public-administration research goals of India will determine the blueprint.



SOME PROBLEMS OF TRAINING IN THE BRITISH CIVIL SERVICE*

A. J. Platt

WHAT I propose to do in this talk is, first of all, to sketch in the background of training in the British Civil Service and then to talk about that training under two aspects—training in particular skills and training in management.

ASSHETON REPORT

Training in the British Civil Service in its present form stems very largely from what we call the Assheton Report. This was the report of a Committee on the training of Civil Servants set up under the Chairmanship of the Financial Secretary of the time, Sir Ralph Assheton, now Lord Clitheroe. The Committee was set up in the following circumstances. During the war a large number of Civil Servants had been recruited into the Civil Service and in 1942 the Select Committee on National Expenditure presented a report to the House of Commons on the subject of organisation and control of the Civil Service. The Committee was impressed by the need for training of staff after their entry into the Civil Service and favoured the creation of a Civil Service Staff College. There was a debate on this subject in the House of Commons early in 1943 in which the then Financial Secretary to the Treasury welcomed the general tenor of the Select Committee's observations but pointed out that the establishment of a Staff College was only one aspect of the much wider question of staff training. He decided to set up a Committee to investigate the training of Civil Servants. This was how the Assheton Committee came to be set up.

The Assheton Committee did not favour the setting up of a Civil Service Staff College but it did make two main recommendations. One was that there should be more formal training of Civil Servants in all classes and on this I shall have more to say later.

The Committee's other main recommendation was that in addition to a training officer in each department there should be set up in the Treasury a division responsible for the co-ordinating of training and education throughout the Civil Service.

*Text of a talk which was to be given at the Institute on April 28, 1959, but could not be delivered due to the illness of Mr. Platt.

This second recommendation has been carried out. Each department now has its own training officer. In the larger departments at least he is a full-time officer with a training staff under him. In the smaller departments he may be part-time. The Treasury has a Training and Education Division charged with the co-ordination of training throughout the Civil Service which exercises its function in two main ways. It acts as a central clearing house for ideas on the techniques of training and tries to disseminate those ideas by training centrally the instructors who are employed by departments. These instructors are ordinary career Civil Servants who are put on to training as part of their career. They are instructed by the Treasury Training and Education Division in teaching techniques which they can use in whatever way is most appropriate to the training work they have to do in their own departments. Secondly, the Training and Education Division conducts centrally a number of training courses and conferences, many of which are concerned with management. The great bulk of training in the Civil Service—perhaps 95% of it—is done by departments themselves and not directly by the Treasury. There is a considerable element of management training in this departmental training.

FORMAL TRAINING

The Assheton Committee considered that the object of formal training should be to attain the highest degree of efficiency. It went on to say that the word “efficiency” was not enough in itself and it proceeded to make a more precise definition which is as follows :

“In any large scale organisation efficiency depends on two elements: the technical efficiency of the individual to do particular work allotted to him, and the less tangible efficiency of the organisation as a corporate body derived from the collective spirit and outlook of the individuals of which the body is composed. Training must have regard to both elements.”

The Committee’s detailed recommendations followed this pattern and refer therefore to training of individuals in the particular skills of their jobs and to training designed to improve the morale of the Civil Service as a whole.

TRAINING IN SKILL

There has for a good many years been training done in the British Civil Service in the skill needed for particular jobs. For example, so long ago as the 1930s, the Post Office started training their counter clerks employed in Crown Post Offices in the work which they

had to do on the counter. The Post Office have also for a great many years trained telephone operators and telegraph operators in their particular jobs. Similarly, the Inland Revenue Department trains its staff in the technical details of Income Tax law and administration. The Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance likewise trains its staff who have to administer the National Insurance Act and similar legislation in the details of those Acts. The value of this type of training is fairly easy to assess. One can, for example, say that someone who has training in a formal training centre in some particular skill will become fully effective quicker than someone who is merely left to pick it up by watching someone else do it. A very great deal of this kind of training is done in the Civil Service, and its value is very widely accepted. It accounts for more than half of our normal training effort.

TRAINING FOR MORALE

I now pass to the point raised by the Assheton Committee of training to maintain or improve the morale of an organisation. Anyone who has been in charge of a large-sized organisation will agree with the Assheton Committee's view that there are two elements necessary for its efficiency. One is the technical efficiency of the individuals in it in their particular jobs. The other is what the Assheton Committee called the corporate efficiency of the organisation as a whole, something which might be called morale. A well run organisation has an efficiency which is greater than the sum total of the efficiency of its individual members and can achieve results far greater than the efforts of its individual members could achieve if they were not co-ordinated and directed to a common end and inspired by a common purpose.

How to achieve and maintain this good morale in an organisation is one of the major concerns of management. A number of things contribute to good morale. One is reasonable conditions for the staff. This would cover such things as fair remuneration and proper facilities for their work. But this is not the only factor which influences morale and indeed one may still have good morale without having good conditions. A great deal of very good work has been done by people working with a sense of mission in very difficult conditions. I do not propose to deal with this particular factor further, if only because it is not something which can be corrected by training.

Another factor which we in the British Civil Service believe helps to maintain morale is to give the individual some idea of how his work fits in to the work of the organisation as a whole, so that he can see that, even if he is a cog in a machine, he is still a necessary part of

it and is helping to produce the result of the whole organisation which, of course, goes well beyond his own particular bit in it. A conscientious attempt is made in the British Civil Service to give Civil Servants some idea of how their work fits in to the organisation as a whole, and I shall be saying something later about this.

Another factor, and some people would say, the most important factor, in maintaining good morale is good management.

Now we come to the crucial question—can one teach management? There is a fairly common saying that managers are born and not made. There is also a fairly common attitude that things are best learnt if they are learnt the hard way. Some people put it—"I was thrown in at the deep end and I learnt to swim that way. We ought to do the same with these youngsters. Throw them in at the deep end. If they are any good they will learn to swim."

The situation in Britain today, however, is that the demand for good managers exceeds the supply. The old method of throwing the people in at the deep end and waiting for the good ones to struggle out does not produce enough good managers to meet the demand. This is true of industry and it is true of the Civil Service. There has, therefore, been a great deal of attention paid to the training of people in management or perhaps more accurately the development of management potential. The theory behind this training is that a large number of people have the potential to make good managers but they will not achieve their potential without being given some help towards it, and those who would make good managers even without help will become good managers quicker if they are helped.

In industry, the people who are potential managers are usually specialists. They have specialised and probably done very well in some particular sphere such as accounting, or salesmanship or production. But if they are to become managers they will have to have a wider horizon than their own speciality. They will have to learn how to co-operate with other types of specialists, how to use people who have some special knowledge which they do not themselves possess and very often they will have to learn how to persuade people to their point of view or at least how to discuss something intelligently with other people to whom they cannot give orders. This involves a quite different mental approach to the specialist's. Most of the management training done in industry starts therefore from the assumption that the good specialist must have his horizon widened and must be made to think about questions outside his own specialised sphere. An immense amount of this kind of training is done in industry. Courses

lasting as much as three months or longer are quite common and are very widely attended by specialists, usually in their early 30s, whom the higher management regards as potential higher managers of the future.

The effort which is made in the Civil Service to train people in management is much smaller than the effort made in industry though it has the same general objective. We do, however, start with the advantage that the classes from whom we recruit many of our managers are not themselves highly specialised. Both the administrative and executive classes, for example, although they may acquire a good deal of expertise in some type of Government work, are predominantly recruited as all-rounders and not as specialists.

I should like to say something about the management training which is done in the British Civil Service.

TRAINING FOR MANAGEMENT

THE NATURE OF MANAGEMENT

If we are to discuss training for management, we must have a general idea of what is basically involved in management. Putting it very briefly, management in our view involves getting things done through others as distinct from doing it oneself. A number of books have been written about the subject of management and I think I can only attempt very briefly to sketch what we believe to be involved in it. It involves three main facets, the organisation of the work, dealing with the people doing it and knowing the work oneself.

I should like to talk about training for management under three headings—

- (a) Pre-entry training;
- (b) Formal training;
- (c) Training on the job.

PRE-ENTRY TRAINING

In the Administrative and Executive classes of the Civil Service, we require our recruits to have a certain intellectual and academic standard. They may enter either by taking formal written examinations and being given interviews by the Civil Service Commission. Or they may enter by the interview method alone, provided that they have certain standards of academic qualification. In either case effectively we demand for the Executive class academic qualifications at the

advanced level of the General Certificate of Education and for the Administrative class a good Honours degree of first class or a good Second Class standard. Whether a person enters by formal examination or by the interview method, he must in effect have these academic qualifications. But the important point is that these qualifications are not specialised qualifications. That is to say, they are not specifically related to the work which the candidate is likely to do in the Civil Service. They are a test of his capacity and not of his specialised knowledge. In this we differ from the Civil Service in a number of other countries in Europe which at least give preference to candidates with qualifications in law or candidates who have taken degree courses in public administration. Our practice of demanding only proof of capacity and not specialised qualifications for the Administrative and Executive classes goes back to the time when competitive examinations were first introduced about a century ago. In this respect England learnt from India.

Competitive examinations were introduced for admissions to the Indian Civil Service following the India Act of 1853 which, *inter alia*, abolished the patronage of the Directors of the East India Company over appointments in India. Macaulay was made Chairman of a Committee "to take into consideration the subject of the Examination of Candidates for the Civil Service of the East India Company." In its report the Committee said : "It is undoubtedly desirable that the civil servant of the Company should enter on his duties while still young but it is also desirable that he should have received the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that his native country affords. Such an education has been proved by experience to be the best preparation for every calling which requires the exercise of the higher powers of the mind. We think it most desirable that the examination should be of such a nature that no candidate who may fail shall to whatever calling he may betake himself have any reason to regret the time and labour which he spent in preparing himself to be examined. Skill in Greek and Latin versification has indeed no direct tendency to form a judge, a financier or a diplomatist. But the youth who does best what all the ablest and most ambitious youths about him are trying to do well will generally prove a superior man."

Macaulay's object then was to test mental ability and industry which he incidentally believed to be also a mark of moral worth and not to require study of subjects which would be useless to a candidate in any other occupation if he failed to get into the Civil Service.

These were the principles applied to recruitment to the East India Company's service shortly to become the Indian Civil Service.

When competitive examinations were later introduced for the British Civil Service, the same principles were applied.

This is the basis of the long established tradition of regarding the members of the Administrative class, and to a great extent of the Executive class, as intelligent and adaptable amateurs who form their judgments on the basis of experience rather than as a result of a prescribed course of theoretical training or narrow specialisation.

FORMAL TRAINING

I now pass to the subject of formal training in management. This is carried on by the Treasury for the administrative classes and for higher management generally and by Departments for their own executive staff at lower and middle management levels.

NEW ENTRANT TRAINING

Any new entrant to the Civil Service will normally have a new entrant course on entry into his department which will give him and any other new entrants into the department a general idea of the purpose of the department, of how its work is organised and how it fits into the general machinery of Government. This is part of the essential background knowledge which the Administrative or Executive officer will require in his management work. It is not specifically directed towards his management responsibilities.

EXECUTIVE CLASS TRAINING

I now turn to the training of the Executive class in management.

The work of the Executive class was defined by the Reorganisation Committee of the Civil Service National Whitley Council in 1921. This definition was slightly modified as a result of a new examination by Whitley machinery shortly after the 1939-45 war of the possibility of an extended use of the Executive class in the Civil Service. The class now does the higher work of the Supply and Accounting Departments and of certain other branches of the Civil Service covering a wide field and requiring judgment, initiative and resource. In the junior ranks it comprises the critical examination of particular cases of lesser importance not clearly within the scope of approved regulations, initial investigations into matters of higher importance and the immediate direction of small blocks of business. In its upper ranges, it is concerned with matters of internal organisation and control, with the settlement of broad questions arising out of business in hand or in contemplation and with the responsible conduct of important operations.

It will be clear from this definition that management is an important part of the work of the Executive class.

The basic grade of the executive class is recruited as to about 75% by promotion from the clerical grades. The remaining 25% is recruited direct either from school-leavers at the advanced level of the General Certificate of Education or from University graduates. In the grades above the basic, the proportions of direct entrants to the class are naturally somewhat higher than in the basic grade but all grades are liable in some measure to do some management work.

SUPERVISION COURSES

In a number of departments supervisory or management duties are given a specific course in supervision. These courses are naturally varied to suit the needs of departments.

A typical supervision course lasts $2\frac{1}{2}$ days and includes a discussion on the responsibility of a supervisor, instruction on compiling annual reports on staff, and on organising the work of a section.

COURSES IN CONDUCT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS

When a member of the Executive class gets to the rank of Higher Executive Officer or Senior Executive Officer, that is in the salary range of roughly £1000 and £1500, he is in most departments sent on a course of training in the conduct of public business. These courses were introduced some few years ago in most of the major departments and were designed to deal with five points :

- (1) Improved standards of work;
- (2) Avoidance of errors and delays;
- (3) Relationships with Parliament and Ministers;
- (4) Relationships with the public;
- (5) Relationships with the staff.

The emphasis on these five points varies to some extent with the work which a particular department is doing. A typical course in the conduct of public business lasts five days, and includes the subjects of supervision, organisation of work, the work of committees, arrears and delays, reporting on staff, and relations with specialist staff and with the public.

ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS TRAINING

I now turn to the training of the Administrative class.

Junior Administrative Course

The training of administrative staff in management (apart from the new entrant course) begins in a sense with the training of the

young Assistant Principal who is brought to a central training course at the Treasury about 4-6 months after his entry into the Service or, if he is promoted from the Executive class, after his promotion. The duties of the Administrative class have been described as "The formation of policy, the co-ordination and improvement of Government machinery and the general administration and control of the departments of the public service". A member of the class has not only to be familiar with the day-to-day running of his Ministry but also to face any major problems that may arise, to think round it and, if possible, forestall it, to estimate what it involves financially, what effects it may have on the public, what connection it has with the work of other Ministries or other countries and what their reactions may be and so to play his part as a member of a team giving his Minister a complete, balanced and sensible picture of the problem and sound advice on dealing with it.

The Treasury course for Assistant Principals is designed to bring together some 16-18 Assistant Principals drawn from all the different Ministries in the Service. It has been the regular practice to form a balance between University graduates and those recruited through the limited competition, *i.e.*, from the Executive class, on each course. Additional members have been provided by Scientific Officers whose duties have a particularly administrative flavour and also from recruits to the Statistician class. The Assistant Principals have gained some understanding of the work of their Ministry in their first few months there but have had little experience of the wider work of the Service as a whole. The object of the course is to broaden their understanding of the machinery of Government in the United Kingdom, including local Government and of the organisation of the Civil Service. The emphasis throughout is on widening their outlook and on giving them an understanding of the need for better departmental co-operation. The course naturally provides useful personal contacts between officials of various Ministries. The courses are conducted in an informal atmosphere designed to promote as full and free discussion as possible. Talks on a variety of topics are given by various senior Civil Servants and by visitors from outside the service and there are full opportunities for questions to be asked and the answers to be discussed. The speakers on each course include a Minister and the permanent head of a Ministry. The course is divided for several periods into two syndicates to examine particular topics, the discussion being under the control of a chairman appointed from amongst the members. This practice gives each member of the course an opportunity to act as chairman or secretary of a small group as well as experience of belonging to an informal committee. Some of these discussions are related

to set exercises such as the organisation of a scientific research station or the problems of a local authority to which a visit is paid as part of the course. The syndicates produce reports, either oral or written, which are then the subject of joint discussion by the whole group. These courses last for three weeks and have as one of their main objectives broadening the outlook of the Assistant Principal and giving him an awareness of the wider problems which may well come his way as a manager in the not too distant future.

Courses for Principals and Comparable Officers

The Assistant Principal who has attended the Assistant Principals' course is usually aged about 23 or 24. He is promoted to Principal usually by the age of 30 and sometimes a little earlier. Some time in his thirties he may be invited to attend what is called a Senior Administrative course at the Treasury which deals with some specific management problems. Members of the Executive and other classes of similar rank also attend these courses. This course is an attempt to carry out the view of the Assheton Committee that there comes a time somewhere in the thirties where those who are likely to rise to higher levels in the Service would benefit from an opportunity to stand back for a while from their day-to-day work and consider with their colleagues where they are going and what they are doing. The senior administrative course is more in the nature of a conference lasting one week and divided between syndicate discussion of the nature and problems of management and talks and discussion on general management questions or on current management problems. We also include a visit to a large industrial organisation where the group discusses with representatives of the management the problems of organisation and management arising in the industrial concern.

Residential Conferences

At a still further stage some time in his forties, when he has reached the rank of Assistant Secretary, a member of the Administrative class may be invited to a residential study conference, lasting about 10 days which discusses organisation and management problems in the Civil Service. These conferences are for Assistant Secretaries and equivalent ranks in the Executive class but are not confined to members of the Administrative and Executive classes. Indeed two-thirds of the fifty odd places on them go to members of the scientific, professional and other specialist classes who have reached similar ranks at which their work becomes much more involved with management and much less with doing their research work or their specialist work themselves.

TRAINING ON THE JOB

So much for pre-entry training and formal training. I now come to the question of training on the job. There is nothing new about training on the job. For many years, with some notable exceptions it was the only way in the greater part of the Civil Service in which anybody was trained at all. Formal training is not a substitute for practical experience but it can help a man or woman to profit from practical experience and to become fully effective more quickly.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, we agreed that management had two aspects, the job and the staff and that under the job we could put two facets—one, knowledge, and the other, organisation. Under the staff we could put the subject of human relationships. How far does the training which we have been talking about meet these requirements, knowledge, organisation and human relationships? In the pre-entry training it is, I think, clear that we do not specifically meet these requirements of knowledge, organisation and human relationships at all. We do not recruit managers as such. What we seek to do is to recruit managing potential. Under the heading of formal training the need for knowledge is partly met by the new entrant courses which are given to most staff, at all events in the major departments. For administrative staff the Junior Administrative course given to Assistant Principals is largely a matter of imparting knowledge though it also involves some questions of relationship with colleagues. The Senior Administrative course given to Principals deals predominantly with questions of organisation and of human relationships. For the executive grades at lower and middle management level, the supervision courses again deal with organisation and with human relationships and courses in the conduct of public business likewise deal with organisation and human relationships. At the higher management levels where we have residential courses open to managers from all classes in the Civil Service, we are not so much seeking to impart knowledge as to discuss questions of organisation and problems of human relationships. When we come to training on the job, the Civil Service relies very heavily on practical experience and that experience can be said to impart knowledge, to raise questions of organisation and to involve problems of human relationships, indeed all the three aspects of management.

I hope I have said enough to show that the British Civil Service, although it does not do as much as British industry to train its managers, does it to quite a considerable amount. The question which anyone would naturally ask is how far this training is of value and how far

it has been successful. One must admit at the outset that it is extremely difficult to put any precise value on this kind of training for management. It does not aim at teaching a specific skill which can be measured. It aims very much more at producing an attitude of mind. The attitude of mind cannot itself be measured and one is, therefore, thrown back on trying to measure the results. Even here, it is not easy to say how much managerial efficiency arises from training and how much would have been developed anyway by experience without any formal training. All the people whom I know who are concerned with management training are also concerned to assess the value of what they do. But so far as I know, no one has yet managed to produce any very precise yardstick by which to measure its results. We do attempt to assess with our trainees what these various courses have done for them. Every course of the kind I have been describing ends up with a session in which the members of the course are asked to say frankly what they think of it and whether it has done them any good. This discussion is normally very frank and very free and it is of great value to the people who have to organise and design these courses to know just what the trainees think of them.

The general experience is that at the end of a course most people will say that they have gained something from it. They have been stimulated by hearing new points of view expressed by prominent people. They have had the opportunity of discussing with each other what they are trying to do as managers and, above all, they have learnt a great deal from each other's experience. How far is this effect lasting? This again is something which is very difficult to judge. We do attempt to find out after a time whether the people who have come on our courses have received any lasting benefit from them. We often have to sell our courses to people who cannot be compelled to send their staff on them. If the courses are not good, we shall get no trainees. In fact, we get more than we can cope with. But to a large degree, our emphasis on training for management is an act of faith. It is based on assumptions which we believe to be sound and it is tested, so far as we can test it, by enquiry of the trainees and by enquiry of their superiors. But none of these tests is very precise and we can only say that we believe the idea of management training to be worthwhile. We equally believe that the techniques and methods used for management training and the ideas of the trainers must be constantly scrutinised and kept under review. Nothing is more fatal to a good training programme than an attitude of complacency.

SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION AT THE UNION LEVEL

V. Jagannadham

INDIA has a federal form of government under the present constitution. This is the accepted position notwithstanding the unitary bias in many respects. Welfare administration demands a great deal of decentralization even in a unitary state by virtue of the nature of services offered for use by the clientele, namely, the people spread over remote parts of the country. If this is true of a unitary state, its importance need not be emphasized in a federal state. In all federal states, therefore, welfare matters are, by and large, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Units instead of the Union Government.

Nevertheless, in recent times there has been, in industrially advanced federal states, a growing disparity between resources and needs as between Union and Units governments in welfare matters. The lag between resources and needs which checks the enthusiasm, initiative and activities of the Units governments in the welfare field sometimes prompts the Union government to take greater initiative in this field which is resented and disputed by the Units. The constitutional balance of power is then sought to be restored either through constitutional or through judicial interpretation or through a more agreeable method of joint conference and administrative devices. Instead of legislative encroachment or direct administrative involvement, the Union government guides, aids and encourages the Units through directives or recommendations, subsidies or matching grants, surveys and research and so on. For this purpose the Union Government should have an adequately constituted and a properly integrated ministry or department at the Union level. In the United States, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; in Canada, the Department of National Health and Welfare; in Australia, the Departments of Health and Social Services, besides a few other departments which look after specific welfare activities for special areas or groups of people, constitute the structure of welfare administration at the Union level in the older federations.¹

In India the constitutional division of powers reflects an attempt to improve upon the existing position and experience in the older

1. This aspect is discussed in detail by A.H. Birch, *Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation in Canada, Australia and the United States*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955; and by K.C. Wheare, *Federal Government*, London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1946.

federations. Therefore, in Schedule VII of the Constitution of India containing the distribution of powers, welfare subjects are by and large placed either under the exclusive sphere of the Units or in the concurrent sphere. This arrangement prevents jurisdictional disputes and gives greater scope for Union leadership in welfare matters. This system of distribution also secures enough flexibility to enable the Union Government to implement the growing volume of international obligations in the welfare field.

While the above arrangement is an improvement from the standpoint of constitutional law, one may doubt its expediency from the administrative point of view. The present constitutional arrangement encourages the Union Government to play a much greater role in welfare administration. This contingency should be considered in the context of the general phenomena of the rapidly growing centralization process in the modern state, and must be judged in the light of the special conditions prevailing in our country. Federalism in India has been created by the centrifugal process of carving out autonomous units out of a previous unitary state. The Units, therefore, do not have the same attachment, as in other types of federations, to a paramount status of statehood or a large measure of self-reliance. Being formerly subordinate administrative units, the Units do not either immediately or effectively protest against the enlargement of the Union's legislative or administrative authority in respect of matters in concurrent jurisdiction. On the other hand, the device of centrally sponsored schemes, planned and financed by the Centre but administered by the States, destroys the impulse for initiative among the States and creates in them a feeling of parasitism in regard to the Centre. The possibility, therefore, is that the matters in the concurrent list become amalgamated to the Union list ultimately. This might have been anticipated by the framers of the Constitution and need not alarm anybody provided the centralization process does not affect the subjects in the Units' exclusive list. This contingency also exists because of the prevalence of certain other factors. Besides the general tendency for the Union government to expand, two or three other factors which impinge upon the acquiescent attitude of the Units in India are : (1) the imperative demands of an overall development plan; (2) the same party governments at both the Union and Unit levels except in one southernmost state, and (3) the strong tendency for the political and administrative elite to gain power at and administer power from the Union headquarters. All these factors pervade and dominate the attitudes, programmes and procedures in favour of strengthening the Union Government's role in the field of welfare administration in India;

Normally, this process of centralization need not have been minded because it is unwise to attach much sanctity to structural systems, legislative processes and administrative procedures provided they contribute to the goal of promoting the well-being of the people. This standard, however, points to the need for a reverse process in welfare administration. Welfare problems demand local leadership, initiative from and proper use of local resources and resourcefulness for solution of local problems at local level. The proposals for democratic decentralization, contained in the report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service of the Committee on Plan Projects, are emphatic on this aspect, and have come none too soon. Unless the process of centralization is arrested by appropriate changes in outlook, structure and procedures, the proposals would remain ineffective in operation. It is in this context that two questions are considered in this article, namely, (1) the desirability of an integrated Ministry of Health, Education and Welfare in the Union government, and (2) whether there is a need for creating a separate Ministry of Social Welfare at the Centre.

II

In view of the difference in the definition and content of the programme of welfare activities in different countries, it is difficult to be precise about comparing and describing the structure of welfare administration at the Union Government level in India and other countries. In this article, the pattern of allocation of welfare subjects at the Centre and in States, given in Schedules I and II of the questionnaire of the Study Team on Social Welfare, Committee on Plan Projects, is taken as the basis.² It will be observed that there are half a dozen ministries engaged in welfare activities at the Union level. Further, the Planning Commission has also established corresponding divisions with the necessary secretariat complement.

The ministerial, administrative and planning arrangement in the welfare field at the Union level needs to be considered in the light of the fact that the responsibility for the legislation and administration of these matters rests primarily on the Units. The Union Government has direct responsibility only for implementing international conventions, for co-ordinating inter-state activities, for providing services in centrally-administered areas and for administering the central institutions. In other respects, its responsibility is indirect and consists of planning, research, direction and grants-in-aid. The

2. Reproduced at the end of the article.

U.N. Survey of Methods of Social Welfare Administration describes these functions as standard-setting, promotion, subsidization and supervision, and says that these are more important than direct administration in the promotion of many forms of social welfare activity. If this is accepted as correct, it may be asked whether for discharging these functions, separate ministries involving jurisdictional wrangles and overhead charges are necessary or whether they can be integrated into fewer ministries. One obvious disadvantage in having many separate ministries at the Union level in regard to Units subjects is the frequent visits and demands for information and reports by the Union ministries and officials from the Units. These involve considerable degree of diversion from concentration on field operations and loss of time and energy on the part of the state and local authorities. Further, the existence of separate ministries makes it necessary to justify their continued existence and they vie with other ministries in the work-output, secretariat complement, budget allocation without corresponding field operations. This tendency would result in appropriation of larger amounts at the Union level instead of strengthening the agencies at the Units and local levels, and would increase the expenditure on administration rather than on services.

It may be considered whether without loss of efficiency and usefulness, the present arrangement cannot be reduced by half its size. It may be suggested that as in U.S.A. or Canada, there may be one integrated ministry called the Ministry of Health, Education and Welfare. The activities of the Ministry of the Community Development and Co-operation may be amalgamated with the new integrated ministry. The Ministry of Labour and Employment will continue as it is because it is in charge of the administration of national policies in regard to labour welfare, industrial safety, social security and industrial relations etc. After the rehabilitation of refugees the Ministry of Rehabilitation should become defunct and any fringe problems and services might be entrusted to the new integrated ministry. The interest of the Ministry of Home Affairs in welfare matters is more indirect and remote except for the constitutional obligation for the welfare of scheduled castes, tribes and other backward classes. The present Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and his secretariat can become an autonomous part of the new ministry. The other welfare activities of the Ministry of Home Affairs can be entrusted to the welfare division of the new ministry.

The above arrangement may appear to be naive and simple and not politic nor possible. Such an integration may be considered inexpedient for political reasons but may be desirable for administrative considerations. It is considered desirable because it would

be economical and it would also secure unity in command in respect of allied functions under a single political head. Such a rearrangement facilitates co-ordination and planning under one political but different departmental heads. Further, it would ensure speed and flexibility in communication and decision-making within the Ministry and between its departments dealing with different aspects of welfare, as contrasted to too frequent cross-references, consultation and dispersion of authority in respect of a unified set of functions (what Dean Appleby has called 'co-herent missions') between different Ministries. Research and direction and grants-in-aid flow from one single source and the supervision of the activities of the Units becomes more easy and efficient.

Its practicability might be disputed on the ground that such an integrated Ministry might be out of all proportion to an efficient unit of operation and might develop a departmental elephantiasis.³ This is likely to happen provided the attitude of the Union Government in regard to its role in the functions which primarily belong to the Units remains unchanged. The current concern of the Union Government in the activities of the Units is borne out of a lack of faith in the competence of the Units in discharging their responsibilities according to the enthusiasm and standards prescribed by the authority sanctioning grants-in-aid. This concern or fear might be a well-founded one but it is part of the responsibility of the political and administrative leaders at the Centre to inspire and strengthen the state and local authorities to become competent and self-reliant. The multiplication and expansion of agencies at the Union level can never be a remedy for the weakness at the state and local level.

III

In the above context, we may also consider the suggestion made by the Indian Conference of Social Work for the creation of a separate Ministry of Social Welfare. The Conference had submitted a memorandum to the Government of India in 1956 urging the creation of a Central Ministry of Social Welfare. They have reiterated the demand subsequently. This new ministry will be in addition to the already existing ministries and agencies. The main functions of this Ministry will be "to bring all social work under one co-ordinating administration and to provide an integrated progressive social philosophy". This will enable the Central Ministry of Social Welfare to promote the best

3. Before Independence, Health and Education were together under one member and they have since been separated on account of political and administrative reasons. Ten years of separate existence and expansion leads one to suggest the need for reversing the trend towards too much expansion of the Union departments dealing with the State subjects.

interest of social work in the country by means of standard-setting, coordinating, training, supervision, giving grants-in-aid, and promoting a scientific approach to social work". The memorandum specifies thirteen functions to be entrusted to such a ministry by stages. The ministry would begin with some of the thirteen functions and this may involve the transfer of some functions from the existing to the newly created ministry while others will be transferred "when it is found politic to do so, and as the Ministry discharges the allotted functions satisfactorily and gathers more experience". The memorandum opines : "Thus, the overall supervision and policy formation with regard to tribal welfare, community development and the rehabilitation of the physically, socially and mentally handicapped or maladjusted can be legitimately entrusted to the Ministry of Social Welfare in due course. It would also have been desirable to have the work of the Ministry of Rehabilitation incorporated within that of the Ministry of Social Welfare. At this juncture (1956), however, it is not feasible to do so on account of the ever-increasing influx of refugees from East Pakistan".

The Ministry will, the memorandum suggests, have eight divisions in the initial stages manned by officers trained and experienced in social work. "If for any reason the Government desires to have a non-technical administrator as Secretary to the Ministry, then a highly qualified social work technician should be appointed as Social Welfare Adviser to the Ministry with the status of Joint Secretary, and a Director-General of Social Welfare (who) should be a well-qualified and experienced social worker. He would preside over and co-ordinate the functions of the different divisions suggested above." The memorandum suggests the creation, in course of time, of a suitable cadre of social welfare officers on the lines of those for other technical departments. With a view "to guard against such a ministry of Social Welfare becoming wooden, rigid, and merely administrative", the Memorandum suggests the desirability of having an Advisory Council which will 'help the Ministry to know the social needs of the people better and will enable the public in turn to take interest in the work of and activities promoted by, the Ministry'. The memorandum also suggests that the Advisory Council should be able to help the various Ministries concerned with social development to co-operate with the Ministry of Social Welfare, in turn. The Advisory Council should consist of representatives of Central Ministries such as Health, Education, Rehabilitation, Labour, Agriculture, Home and Finance as well as schools of social work, university departments of social service and major national social welfare organizations. It is recommended that representatives of the various ministries on the Advisory Council may form

into an inter-departmental Committee to expedite decisions. The memorandum also refers to the place and functions of social welfare ministries in other countries in Asia, Europe and America. Attention is drawn to the growth of welfare departments in many states, which do not have precise scope or unified pattern of activity. "There is an urgent need, therefore", says the memorandum, "for developing agreed patterns of social welfare departments in the States. This can be done only by establishing a Central Social Welfare Ministry at an early date.Central directive, guidance and help will be greatly needed and much valued by the States, and this cannot be provided by a multiplicity of un-coordinated arrangements in different States but only through an integrated Central Ministry of Social Welfare". In conclusion the memorandum asserts that "unless such a Ministry is created, it will be difficult to achieve the much needed balance between the economic and social progress of the people, and without such a socio-economic balance, it is impossible to promote the integrated development of human personality."

The suggested set-up of Central Ministry of Social Welfare and its functions deserves close examination. The task of bringing all social work under one co-ordinating administration and providing an integrated social philosophy cannot be secured by official departmental agencies. The first task is beyond the scope of any department or ministry because of the wide ramifications of the work and services. A separate ministry to co-ordinate the services for which it has to depend on other technical ministries would need a super-ministerial status. Co-ordination at the Union level would be facilitated if there is integration of related technical services also under a single ministry, as suggested earlier. The achievement of balance between economic and social progress is a matter of broad policy which is fit for discussion by the National Development Council and formulation by the Planning Commission.

It is rather too much to expect a ministry to provide an integrated social philosophy which is a dynamic ever-growing body of knowledge. Agencies like the Indian Conference of Social Work, Schools of Social Work, Councils of Social Service, Universities etc. are more appropriate for analysing the social problems, widening the horizons of social work, and supplying the governments at the Units and Union levels with the necessary vision, will and skills.

The reference to the place and functions of the social welfare ministries or departments in other countries does not enlighten us much without an examination of the unitary or federal nature of the constitution and without a consideration of the breadth and depth of the social welfare programme of the country. A central ministry of social

welfare or social services or social affairs in a unitary state may be necessary and desirable provided the welfare activities of the central and local governments are wide enough; the position in a federal state, however, is different. It must also be noted in this context that the definition and scope of social welfare activity differ from country to country. In some countries social services like public health and education are outside the scope of welfare programmes. In our country, social welfare does not include income security programmes under social insurance and provident fund, but in most countries, the three aspects of social security, namely, social insurance, assistance and allowances, form part of the welfare programme. Thus, the content rather than the nomenclature is significant in evaluating the experience of other countries.

IV

The question whether and how far there is need for a separate Central Ministry of Social Welfare in addition to the existing ministries and agencies in a federal state in which the welfare activities are predominantly the concern of State Governments is still debatable. It is suggested before that in a federal state, the Union Government should confine its activities to planning, grants-in-aid, direction, and research, and for these, an integrated Ministry of Health, Education, and Welfare would be the most suitable form.

The proposal for integration is based upon the assumption that the functions of the Union Government will be confined to leadership, guidance and grants-in-aid. The administrative division of functions in the integrated ministry need not be worked out in detail at this stage. The experience of other federal countries like U.S.A., Canada, Australia etc. can be utilized.

The suggestion as regards the creation of a separate Social Welfare Ministry needs to be discussed in the light of the agency created in 1953, namely, the Central Social Welfare Board. The memorandum of the Indian Conference of Social Work briefly refers to this body and says "With the creation of a Ministry of Social Welfare, it would be necessary to consider how the work of the Central Social Welfare Board should be integrated with that of the Ministry, so as to avoid duplication of effort and expenditure". The memorandum should have bestowed greater attention on the merits and demerits of the present arrangement of the C.S.W.B. and considered the desirability and functions of the Board *vis-a-vis* a separate Ministry.

The Board is at present entrusted with the following functions :

- (a) to cause a survey to be made of the needs and requirements of social welfare organizations;

- (b) to evaluate the programmes and projects of the aided agencies;
- (c) to co-ordinate the assistance extended to social welfare activities by various Ministries in the Central and State Governments;
- (d) to promote the setting up of social welfare organizations on a voluntary basis in places where no such organizations exist; and
- (e) to render financial aid, when necessary, to deserving organizations or institutions, on terms to be prescribed by the Board.

Its composition at the Central and State levels and its operational activities at the district level reflect its essentially non-governmental voluntary nature, enlisting the co-operation of public workers who are free from power focus and party bias. The Board's functions and activities appear to meet the arguments advanced for the creation of a separate ministry. It can also serve as the Social Welfare Advisory Council. The suggested Ministry of Health, Education and Welfare can utilize the services of the Board as Advisory Council, with necessary modifications. One suggestion, however, may be made here, namely, statutory recognition might be given to the Board, containing an explicit statement of its autonomy, which it enjoys today in fact but not in law. This would obviate the need for the creation of a separate ministry.

The relationship between the integrated Ministry of Health, Education and Welfare and the Central Social Welfare Board will be more or less the same as that exists at present between the Board and the Ministry of Education. The Ministry will be answerable to Parliament for the activities of the Board. The welfare division in the Ministry will act as a liaison between the Ministry and the Board. The functions of leadership and guidance, direction and supervision, grants-in-aid and research, will continue to be the functions of the Board. Planning may also be carried on by the Board on behalf of the Planning Commission in association with the Indian Conference of Social Work and other national field organizations in social welfare as the national forum for expression of views on social welfare.

It is feared that the Central Social Welfare Board will not have the necessary status and competence to give the much-needed leadership in welfare matters *vis-a-vis* the State departments of welfare. The dualism in the present structure of welfare administration with operational functions both for welfare departments and welfare

advisory boards is regarded as anomalous. Only a full-fledged Ministry of Social Welfare at the Centre will have necessary status and competence to act as friend, philosopher and guide to the welfare departments at the State level. The channels of communication between the State departments and the Central ministry will follow the recognized pattern and become well established whereas with the Central Social Welfare Board they will be different and roundabout.

Though the above argument possesses certain merits, it should be remembered that in the integrated ministry there will be a welfare department which acts as a liaison between the State welfare departments and the Central Social Welfare Board. The merit of the latter body is its autonomy and adaptability to suit the needs in the diverse fields of welfare. Its composition reflecting the various national voluntary agencies should help it to play the role of a friend, philosopher and guide much better than a ministry can do. The Centre State relationships are likely to follow the usual channels of delay; to be vitiated by superior-subordinate relationship; to be affected by donor-recipient moods and so on. It is therefore desirable to keep the autonomous character of Central Social Welfare Board and increase its activities so as to enable it to play the role of a friend, philosopher and guide.

The above arrangement would secure integration and therefore co-ordination at the Central Government level alongside with ample scope for national leadership and direction for States, with opportunities for carrying pilot surveys or implementation of pilot programmes to further research. The object of the new and integrated Health, Education and Welfare Ministry at the Centre in a federal state will be to strengthen the State and local level departments and their activities and meet the growing volume of international obligations arising out of the international concern for the welfare of the people. This may be achieved by making the States financially more self-reliant, by conditional grants to the States based upon need for schemes initiated at the suggestion and not under the sponsorship of the Union ministry, by making available more recent knowledge through research publications, by standard setting etc.

The goal of welfare state and the policy required to reach it would be ill-served if we do not arrest the present trend of expansion at the Union level not matched by an adequate strengthening of welfare administration and services at the State and local level. This demands a change in outlook, structural arrangement, administrative relationships and resource-allocation. Co-operative federalism rather than domineering centralism should mark the Union-Unit or

Centre-State relations in the field of welfare administration in a country of vastness and diversities, as in India. Even if India were a unitary state it would be considered expedient to strengthen the welfare administration more at the state and local level than at the Union level. In a federal state, there is need for restraint in expansion, economy in operation and integration in structure with the object of developing at the State level a self-reliant and resilient social administration with necessary grants-in-aid from the Centre.

NOTES

(A) Pattern of Allocation of Welfare Subjects at the Centre
(Source : Committee on Plan Projects, Study Team on
Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes)

<i>Ministry</i>	<i>Subjects dealt with</i>
1. Ministry of Education	<p>(a) Central Social Welfare Board :</p> <p>(i) Grants-in-aid to existing voluntary welfare organizations; and</p> <p>(ii) to sponsor and assist the development of new welfare services through non-official organizations.</p> <p>(b) Youth welfare and recreational services.</p> <p>(c) Education and welfare of the handicapped, viz., the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and the mentally handicapped.</p> <p>(d) Training of social workers.</p> <p>(e) Social education.</p>
2. Ministry of Health	<p>(a) Maternity and child welfare services.</p> <p>(b) Medical social work.</p> <p>(c) Physical treatment and rehabilitation of the physically and mentally handicapped and of T.B. and leprosy patients.</p>
3. Ministry of Community Development	Social education and the welfare of women and children in the rural areas.

<i>Ministry</i>	<i>Subjects dealt with</i>
4. Ministry of Home Affairs	(a) Welfare of Scheduled Castes/Tribes and other backward classes. (b) Juvenile delinquency. (c) Welfare of prisoners. (d) Aftercare of discharged delinquents and prisoners. (e) Emergency relief measures.
5. Ministry of Labour and Employment	(a) Labour welfare. (b) Industrial safety and health. (c) Social security and measures for the relief of unemployed.
6. Ministry of Rehabilitation	Relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons from Pakistan.

(B) Pattern of Allocations of Welfare Subjects in the States

Andhra Pradesh	1. Social Welfare and Labour Department dealing with tribal welfare, welfare of scheduled castes and other backward classes. 2. Women's Welfare Department dealing with women's welfare schemes of the State Government, administrative charge of the State Social Welfare Advisory Board, etc.
Assam	Tribal Areas Department dealing with tribal welfare and other social welfare schemes being dealt with by other departments such as Home, Health, Education and Labour etc.
Bihar	Welfare Department dealing with tribal welfare, welfare of scheduled castes and other backward classes and general social welfare schemes.
Bombay	Labour and Social Welfare Departments, consolidating various welfare departments such as the labour welfare, general social welfare and correctional administration of juvenile delinquents etc. Pattern of field level

	administration differs from region to region in respect of new areas recently merged in Bombay State.
Madhya Pradesh	Tribal Welfare Department dealing with the welfare of tribals and other backward classes. A separate Social Welfare Department dealing with panchayats, social education and beggary.
Madras	No separate department of social welfare. Separate department of Harijan Welfare dealing with that subject. Various social welfare schemes being dealt with under several departments, <i>e.g.</i> , Development, Education, Health etc.
Mysore	Department of Social Welfare dealing with welfare of backward classes and tribal welfare. Pattern of field level administration differs in the Karnatak and Hyderabad areas which have been recently merged in the State.
Orissa	Tribal Welfare and Rural Welfare Department dealing with welfare of backward classes, rural welfare and general social welfare.
Punjab	Department of Social Welfare dealing with Social Welfare Advisory Board, youth welfare etc.
Rajasthan	Social Welfare Department also dealing with welfare of tribes and other backward classes.
Uttar Pradesh	Department dealing with women's welfare and general social welfare. There are separate departments to look after Harijans and removal of untouchability.
West Bengal	Social Welfare Department to deal with general social welfare. Separate department to deal with the welfare of backward classes.

THE EUROPEAN ATOMIC ENERGY COMMUNITY— ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

R. Dwarkadas

EURATOM affords an interesting example of a study in international regional administration. The treaty establishing a European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM)¹ came officially into force on January 1, 1958. The final draft of the treaty had been completed by International Governmental Committee in Brussels on March 9, 1957 and the treaty had been signed in Rome by Belgium, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands on March 25, 1957. Between July and December 1957 the treaty was ratified by the Parliaments of all the six member-countries. Simultaneously the treaty establishing a European Economic Community (Common Market) was also ratified.

The tasks of Euratom were defined in Article 1 of the treaty as the creation within a short period the technical and industrial conditions necessary to utilize nuclear discoveries and especially to produce nuclear energy on a large scale. This result would be achieved by joint measures of the member-countries and through the activities of the institutions of the community, which it is the purpose of this article to examine.

Incidentally, it may be noted that a new European agency functioning within the framework of O.E.E.C. (Organization for European Economic Co-operation) came officially into existence on February 1, 1958. The agency is called the European Nuclear Energy Agency. Provision exists for mutual co-operation between Euratom, European Nuclear Energy Agency (of O.E.C.C.) and also International Atomic Energy Agency. It is believed that close co-operation would be present between Euratom, U.S.A.,² Great Britain³ and Canada.

1. A report of three experts entitled "A Target for Euratom" emphatically asserts the need for development of nuclear energy for Euratom countries and denies the dangerous and growing dependence of these countries on energy imports. The report calculated that the imports amounted at present to 100,000,000 tons of coal equivalent (23% of the total energy requirements); and estimated that they would rise to 200,000,000 tons (33%) by 1967; and might reach 300,000,000 tons (40%) by 1977. Comparing the proposed Euratom programme with the existing British programme the report noted that the Euratom target was 2½ times the British target of 6,000,000 kilowatts of nuclear capacity by 1965. The report recommends that 15,000,000 kilowatts of nuclear generating capacity should be built by 1967.

2. U.S.A. would provide fissile materials, technical knowledge and training facilities for Euratom's scientists and technicians while at the later stage Euratom would

EURATOM INSTITUTIONS

The Assembly and the Council of Ministers for Euratom afford us interesting examples of policy-making institutions for purposes of regional international collaboration in the field of development of nuclear energy. Euratom would share the Assembly—which consists of 142 members elected by the national Parliaments of the six member-countries—with the institutions of “Little Europe”—the European Economic Community and the European Coal and Steel Community—the previous Assembly of the latter organization being superseded by the new Assembly. The new Assembly was inaugurated at the Maison de L’Europe in Strasburg in March 1958.

The Assembly meets once a year (in October) to discuss the annual report of the Commission—the collegiate executive machinery of Euratom. It would have power to enforce the resignation of the Commission, such a decision requiring a two-third majority of votes cast as well as ordinary majority of its total membership.

The Assembly would discuss the Community budgets, and would be empowered to propose amendments. It would have to be consulted on certain proposals of the Commission and the Council of Ministers implementing essential principles of the Treaty. It would be entitled to meet in extraordinary session if a majority of its members so demanded, or at the request of the Commission or of the Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers is the political executive of Euratom. This consists of one representative from each of the six member-countries. It would take decisions in one of the three ways : (1) either unanimously, (2) by simple majority or (3) by a weighted majority, according to various circumstances laid down in the treaty. Decisions requiring a simple or a qualified majority can in most cases be taken only on a proposal made by the Commission; and any such proposal cannot be amended by the Council except by a unanimous vote. Thus there is the broad dichotomy between proposals made at the initiative of the Commission and proposals originating in the Council of Ministers. This measure is aimed at conferring greater responsibility upon the Commission and safeguarding the stability of its activities.

make available in return the practical knowledge gained by large-scale industrial application of atomic power.

3. The British authorities would be willing to provide technical training facilities and also to facilitate contacts between British firms in the nuclear construction field and their Euratom counterparts.

THE COMMISSION

The Commission has five members of different nationalities, jointly appointed by the member-governments for four-year terms and eligible for reappointment. The basic compulsions that dictate effective functioning of international organizations are responsible for the provision that the members would be completely independent and would neither solicit nor accept instructions from their governments. If unanimously agreed by the Council, however, member-governments might accredit representatives to the Commission to act as permanent liaison officers.

The Commission is a collegiate executive body. It takes its decisions by a simple majority vote. Its main tasks are :

- (1) to supervise the application of the Treaty and the measures adopted within its framework;
- (2) to take part in the shaping of the Council and Assembly decisions by making proposals to the Council, which the latter could not amend except by unanimous vote;
- (3) to formulate opinions and recommendations on matters within the scope of the Treaty;
- (4) to take those decisions for which authority had been conferred upon it; and
- (5) to publish annually a general report of the activities of the Community.

ADMINISTRATIVE TECHNIQUES

The different administrative techniques through which both the Council and Commission guide the work of Euratom are as follows :

- (a) Regulations which would be compulsory and directly applicable in any member-state;
- (b) directions which would be binding on the recipient state in respect of the result to be achieved but which would allow it to choose the ways and means;
- (c) decisions which would be obligatory for the parties concerned; and
- (d) recommendations and opinions which would not have binding force.

Needless to point out that such alternating techniques of compulsion and persuasion, centralization and decentralization, direction and advice, are more or less common to both international and national organizations. Nevertheless, the overwhelming importance of

persuasive and co-operative devices in international organizations, composed of sovereign states, sensitive as they are to coercive pressures, cannot be over-emphasized.

COURT OF JUSTICE

There is an interesting provision for a Court of Justice whose functions are to safeguard the law in the interpretation and application of the Treaty, to decide on the legality of decisions of the Council of Ministers or the Commission and to determine the violations of the Treaty. Actions might be brought before the Court either by a member-country or by the Council of Ministers, or by the Commission, or by a person or legal entity affected by the decision of the Community. Actions might be based on these grounds: that the Council or the Commission were not empowered to take a decision, had violated essential rules of procedure, had violated the Treaty or any rule implementing it, or had abused their discretionary powers, *e.g.*, in regard to granting of licences by the Commission, application of compulsory measures in the sphere of security. The Court consists of seven members jointly appointed by the member-governments holding office for six years and eligible for reappointment. There would also be two Advocates-General.

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEES

There are two important technical committees which have consultative status and which assist the Council of Ministers. As a matter of fact, the Treaty requires consultation of these committees in a few specified cases. The Economic and Social Committee would be common to Euratom and the European Economic Community. It would be composed of representatives of all sections of economic and social life such as employers' organizations, trade unions, and similar bodies. This is, incidentally, indicative of the extent to which international activities are proliferating in the member-nations' social fabric. Its members, appointed for four years by a unanimous decision of the Council of Ministers, are drawn from the member-countries. The other Committee, named the Scientific and Technical Committee, assists the Commission in an advisory capacity and consists of 20 members appointed by the Council, after consultation with the Commission for a five-year term. This committee expertly helps the Commission to draft a code of basic standards governing personal safety against dangers resulting from "ionizing radiation".

OPERATIONS AND TECHNIQUES OF EURATOM INSTITUTIONS

The operational responsibilities of the Community in general and Commission in particular relate to the development of nuclear research, dissemination of nuclear information, protection of health, investments, community undertakings, supplies of nuclear materials, security measures, ownership of fissile materials and external relations.

Varied techniques are adopted by the Commission for promotion of research in member-countries. The treaty enjoins that the Commission would set up a Community Nuclear Research Centre to ensure the execution of research programmes, and also for standardizing nuclear terminology and measurements. Schools for training of specialists would be established. The Commission would work out research and training programmes and the Community Nuclear Research Centre would carry them out. Again, the Commission would endeavour to co-ordinate the research conducted in individual member-states. It would also attempt to prevent wasteful duplication and to direct research into less explored channels; would publish, with the agreement of the interested parties, the research programmes in operation; and might even convene meetings of representatives of public and private research centres for mutual consultation and exchanges of information. The Commission might extend financial and/or technical assistance for research work, directly by financial contributions or by the organization of joint financing by those concerned or by supplying raw or fissile materials, or by making available installation, equipment or experts, either against payment or free of charge. Thus the tasks of the Commission in the field of research promotion are indeed manifold.

In the field of dissemination of information, the Commission would be obliged to pass on to interested persons and undertakings in the member-countries all the information acquired by the Euratom and to issue to them at their request non-exclusive licences. A special procedure would apply to information which had to be kept secret for defence reasons. The Commission, by agreement, would seek to obtain information from the member-countries on all patents, patent applications, or working models covering institutions which would be useful to the Community. It would do its utmost to promote the issue of licences for such patents etc. A compulsory notification procedure would apply to certain inventions and again a special procedure would apply to secret defence inventions. The Commission could demand the issue of licences if it considered this desirable. An arbitration committee could be set up to deal with disputes between either

(a) the Commission and the owner of a patent; or (b) the owner of a patent and a licensee on the subject of compensation. Finally, the Commission would evolve a system whereby member-states, undertakings or individuals could exchange progress or final reports about their research.

In the field of public health the Community would establish a code of basic standards governing personal safety against dangers resulting from ionizing radiation. The Commission would draft the code. An Information and Study Centre for personal safety problems would be set up within the Community Nuclear Research Centre.

To stimulate initiative by public and private undertakings in the nuclear energy field, and to promote planned development of their investments, the Commission would publish programmes indicating the Community's production aims and the capital investments thereby implied, after hearing the views of the Social and Economic Committee. Undertakings of outstanding importance for development of nuclear industry in the Community might be declared Community Undertakings having special status, by a decision of the Council of Ministers taken on the proposal of the Commission.

SUPPLIES

In the matter of supplies a joint policy would be pursued with regard to supply of ores, raw materials and special fissile matter on the basis of the principle of equal access of resources. For this purpose the Commission would constitute a Commercial Agency, which would be a corporate body, vested with financial independence and able to conduct its affairs according to business rules, but controlled by the Commission.

SECURITY

All special fissile matter would be the property of the Community. For the purposes of security the Commission would be required to ensure (1) that ores, raw materials and special fissile matter were not misdirected from their intended use as declared by their consumers; and (2) that arrangements for their supply, and any special control measures accepted by the Community in agreement with a non-Community state or international organization, were observed.

FINANCE

Estimates of all the Community's revenue and expenditure, (apart from those of the Commercial Agency and the joint undertakings)

would be drawn up for each financial year and entered either in the operational budget or the research and investment budget. The revenue and expenditure of the Agency, which would operate on commercial lines, would be estimated separately. The receipts of the operational budget would consist mainly of financial contributions of the member-countries in different proportions indicated in the Treaty. The contributions might be replaced, in whole or part, by the proceeds of taxes levied by the Community on the member-countries; the introduction of such taxes would be decided by the Council of Ministers on the proposal of the Commission. The Community would also be entitled to raise loans to finance research and investment.

The preliminary draft budgets of the various Euratom Community institutions under the aegis of the Commission would have to be submitted to the Council of Ministers not later than September 30 of each year (the financial year being January 1-December 31). The Council would be entitled to propose amendments but would be required, in its turn, to submit the budgets to the Assembly by October 21 at the latest. If the Assembly either signified its approval or expressed no opinion within a month, the draft budgets would be deemed to have been finally adopted. If the Assembly proposed amendments, the final decision would be with the Council of Ministers.

CONCLUSION

The problems concerning the institutions and activities like those in Euratom, it can be seen, are fertile fields of research for a student of public administration, who interests himself in problems of regional international administration, particularly in the context that materials and literature in this field are fastly developing.

Besides, this is a nuclear age. The use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes holds a promise for a prosperous future. In this context, Euratom's contribution, by way of deployment of nuclear energy for the prosperity of that segment of humanity for which it is designed to function, is welcome and its success will attract such regional international ventures throughout the other regions of the world. It is a safe guess that under-developed areas in the world are bound to watch these experiments with great deal of interest for anything that concerns a faster pace of development is arresting to them. Posterity, given a more peaceful atmosphere in international relations, is bound to concentrate more and more on development of collaborative devices and global assistance programmes for the benefit of all mankind; for prosperity in any part of the world is a stimulus to prosperity in every part of the globe. Success of Euratom programmes is bound to

interest India, for we on a limited scale have our own national machinery for the exploitation of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in the Atomic Energy Commission,⁴ and probably some day we might as well pioneer a more or less comparable regional international venture in collaboration with a few nations in this part of the world, of course, richly drawing on goodwill, experience and assistance from advanced nations in the world.

4. A new Atomic Energy Commission with full executive and financial powers, modelled to a certain extent on the U.K. Atomic Energy Authority, was set up last year. The new Commission consists of two full-time members and a part-time member. The Secretary of the Department of Atomic Energy is the *ex officio* Chairman of the Commission. There is a full-time member in charge of finance and administration ; and the third member (part-time) is in charge of research and development. The Commission is responsible for (a) formulating the policy of the Department of Atomic Energy for the consideration and approval of the Prime Minister ; (b) preparing the budget of the Department ; (c) implementing governmental policy in atomic energy matters. Within the limits of Budget provisions as approved by Parliament, the Commission exercises the Government's powers, both administrative and financial, for the carrying out of the Government's policies by the Department of Atomic Energy.

WHITLEYISM

—A Feature of Democratic Administration

B. S. Khanna

DEMOCRATIC Administration has a number of distinguishing features, external and internal. First, it is one which is guided and directed by the elected representatives of the people. Not only administrative policies are to be formulated by these representatives but the implementation of these policies is also to be supervised by the latter, without, of course, damaging the initiative and political neutrality of the bureaucracy. Second, at the various levels of the administration there are advisory committees composed of the representatives of the special interests and citizens who help in the formulation of the administrative programmes and guide their implementation. Third, a democratic administration works within the legal framework erected by the representatives of the people in a Parliament and is accountable to the autonomous courts of law for any breaches of constitution or of law. Fourth, it is an administration which is responsive to the wishes of the people and also shows due regard to the feeling and dignity of the common man.

These external features have a close relation with the internal characteristics. As a matter of fact, there is a mutual interactions between the two.

The internal characteristics are :—

- (a) a broad-based competitive system of recruitment which is conducive to the emotional integration of civil servants in the community;
- (b) de-centralisation and de-concentration of powers within the administration to the extent dictated by prevailing circumstances and reason;
- (c) proper human relations among the public personnel based upon respect for human beings working within the administration, without, of course, injuring the hierarchical organisation of the administrative power;
- (d) a system of joint consultations and even negotiations between the Government and their employees in regard to matters of mutual interest.

For an administration in a democratic country it is by no means easy to develop all these features, external and internal, in a short time. Social, political and human factors in a country influence and limit the development of its administration. Here we are, however, concerned with only one feature, *i.e.*, system of joint consultations and negotiations between the Government and their employees. Since Britain has developed this system (commonly called 'Whitleyism') within her administration during the last four decades in such a progressive way as to arouse interest in India and elsewhere, an attempt has been made in this article to make a survey of this system at the national level and, more briefly, at the local level. The experience of Britain will be of help to India which is now engaged on experimentation in the field of joint consultations between the management and the staff in the national administration as well as in some state and local administrations. A number of Staff Councils have been set up in the Union Administration and some of the State Governments have followed suit. But these joint consultative bodies will not be much success unless the proper spirit of compromise and adjustments inspires their working. A study of the position in Britain may be of some value to those who are interested in the extension and success of the experiment in this country.

WHITLEYISM IN NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

(1) *Development*

Confining our attention to the non-industrial civil service¹ here, we find that joint consultations and negotiations between the Government and their employees are carried on primarily through specially-created bodies, called the Whitley Councils. There is one National Whitley Council for the Civil Service as a whole and a number of Departmental Whitley Councils for discussion of problems of mutual interest on a departmental basis.

These councils came into existence gradually after the conclusion of World War I. A Committee appointed by the Government and headed by Mr. J.H. Whitley, M.P., to suggest ways and means to deal with the industrial unrest in the country recommended in 1917-18 that joint consultative and negotiating bodies should be set up in industries to provide a forum for joint discussions and negotiations between the management and the employees in regard to matters of common

1. The British Civil Service is generally divided into two categories—industrial and non-industrial. In 1955, the number of civil servants in the two categories respectively was 422,760 and 635,436. This article concerns only the second category.

interest such as salary, discipline, promotion etc. The underlying idea was that the management should no longer be entirely authoritarian in its dealings with the employees. The participation of workers in the determination of the conditions under which they have to work, it was thought, would improve their lot and also give them a feeling that their voice was being heard and respected in matters which concerned them deeply.

Civil servants, particularly, the lower and middle-level ones, demanded that the Government should set an example to the industrialists by adopting this radical idea in their dealings with their employees. The Government, however, hesitated at first, since as representatives of the sovereign state they thought themselves different from all other employers. Under constant pressure they became willing to adopt this recommendation partially. This did not satisfy the civil servants who intensified their campaign. Ultimately, the Government announced their decision to accept the principle of joint consultations and negotiations, *i.e.*, Whitleyism, for the civil service. In July 1919, the first Whitley body—the National Whitley Council—started operating. It was followed by the setting up of Departmental Councils and Committees as time passed.

A big change thus took place in the pattern of management-staff relations in the administration. A number of factors helped this process. First, the staff associations which had been growing in number and power since the beginning of the twentieth century, pulled their weight with the Government to make them agree to a system of joint consultations and negotiations. Again, the “deterioration of civil service ways and conditions plus the energy, and new ideas provided by ex-servicemen and temporary clerks after the war” exerted a powerful influence for the revision of the management-staff relationships.² Dr. Humphreys points out : “Civil Servants came out of the war prepared to make a new stand for a better life, in much the same way as their fellow workers in other industries; the Whitley system, under Government sponsorship, offered the opportunity”.³

It would, however, be wrong to presume that Whitleyism was a big success in all departments or on all occasions from the beginning. No doubt the National Whitley Council right in the early years not only concerned itself with the revision of the conditions of employment but also gladly showed the responsibility with the Government for attempting a complete reorganization of the civil service after the war. This sharing of a big responsibility for the first time by the staff

2. B.V. Humphreys, *Clerical Unions in the Civil Service* (1958), p. 128.

3. *Ibid.*

with the Government made the former develop a positive frame of mind rather than possess only a bargaining attitude. Mr. Houghton points out that attempting a constructive piece of work by a Whitley body, right when it is still in its infancy, is highly conducive to the development of a positive outlook and sound traditions.⁴ Despite certain achievements, however, Whitley bodies had to face two main difficulties in their early years. First, the representatives of the Government and of the staff in Whitley Councils could not get rid of their old complexes altogether. Sir Albert Day describes the situation thus :

“The old style administrator took hardly to the idea of submitting himself to cross-examination, criticism and possibly personal attack by representatives of his subordinates. He mourned, no doubt, the good old days when the administrator need give only his decision and not his reasons. The staff side, on the other hand, superior in forensic skill, were apt to use it without forbearance. The newly-won opportunities for controversy went perhaps a little to their heads”.⁵

The second difficulty was that the various staff associations represented on the staff side of the various Whitley Councils, could not always compose their differences and present unified and constructive views on questions under discussion in these councils.

During the inter-war years these two difficulties exercised some restraining influence upon the Whitley bodies. But it may be added that with the passage of years these difficulties lost some of their weight. It was, however, during World War II that a distinct change for the better came over and it has been sustained in the post-war period. The representatives of the Government and the staff have a more positive and constructive attitude towards each other as well as more mutual confidence than was the case in the past. Gradually, the staff associations have also developed more corporate spirit.

Today, Whitleyism has numerous admirers and enthusiastic adherents in both the camps, *i.e.*, management and staff. It may be of interest to listen to the testimony of at least a few leading representatives of each side. Sir Thoman Padmore, a high-ranking administrator, remarks that though the Whitley system is still to overcome a few

4. Douglas Houghton, *Whitley Councils in the British Civil Service*, lecture delivered at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, on December 10, 1957.

5. Sir Albert Day was the Chairman of the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council for a number of years. This extract is from his talk on 'Negotiation & Joint Consultation in the Civil Service' which was published in the *Whitley Bulletin* (July 1953), Vol. XXXIII, No. 7, p. 102.

obstacles, there is no doubt that the system pays at present "more than respectable dividends to all concerned".⁶ Mr. Winnifrith, another top civil servant, expresses the view that "virtues far outweigh the faults" of the system which is no doubt an effective instrument for the regulation of conditions of service by the democratic method of joint consultations".⁷

Similar optimistic note is struck by the representative of the staff. Mr. James Callaghan, M.P.,⁸ points out that there is a widespread feeling among numerous civil servants that Whitley bodies have been valuable in many ways and that their value is growing. Mr. Douglas Houghton, M.P., holds the view that Whitleyism "has not perhaps lived up to the full grandeur of its original objects and functions" but despite this limitation it has made the civil service more contented than in the past.⁹ He adds that the "cumulative total of constructive work done by Whitley Councils at all levels during the past thirty-five years is enormous".

Some critical observers are of the view that Whitleyism has been, on the whole, a higher success in the civil service as compared with similar experiments in industries in regard to joint consultations and negotiations. Two chief reasons are responsible, according to them, for this situation. First, "the lack of a profit motive, the absence of a definitive line between an employee and employer class and the wish of the Government not to appear too much less than a model employer are all internal factors conducive to a more liberal approach to management-staff relationships".¹⁰ Second, the civil service staff associations have not thought of resorting to strikes¹¹ as has been the case with the industrial workers' unions but have always shown patience and perseverance with the existing arrangements for consultation, negotiation and arbitration for the settlement of questions and controversies. Civil Servants, perhaps everywhere, by nature like to avoid extreme action unless they find themselves faced with a very rigid and exasperating attitude on the part of their employer or unless they become playthings in the hands of political parties or pressure groups.

6. Sir Thomas Padmore, 'Civil Service Establishments and the Treasury, in Robson (ed.), *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, p. 137.

7. A.J.D. Winnifrith, 'Negotiation and Joint Consultation in the Civil Service', *Whitley Bulletin* (July 1953), Vol. XXXIII, No. 7, p. 106.

8. James Callaghan, *Whitleyism (A Study of Joint Consultation in the Civil Service)* p. 36.

9. Douglas Houghton, 'Whitley Councils in the Civil Service', in W.A. Robson (ed.), *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, London, Hogarth Press, 1956, p. 148.

10. B.V. Humphreys, *Clerical Unions in the Civil Service*, p. 129.

11. Strike is not illegal in England but there has been practically no strike—(only once there was a minor one by a small section of civil servants).

(2) *Work and Organization of Whitley Councils*

The objective of the National Whitley Council has been defined thus : "to secure the greatest measure of co-operation between the State as employer and the general body of civil service, with a view to increased efficiency in the public service combined with the well-being of those employed: to provide machinery for dealing with grievances and generally to bring together the experience and different points of view of representatives of administrative, clerical and manipulative civil service".¹² It is obvious from this objective that the National Council can discuss a wide variety of questions of common interest to both the Government and their employees. The chief problems which have been coming up for discussion at the Council may be summed up as :

- (a) Structure, grading of posts, recruitment, methods and procedures, training and further education;
- (b) Salary, retirement benefits and fringe benefits;
- (c) Promotion;
- (d) Discipline;
- (e) Working conditions.

While the National Council discusses these problems and negotiates about them (salary etc.) in regard to the civil service as a whole, the Departmental Councils which numbered ninety in 1955¹³ discuss the problems in a smaller way. A Departmental Council, for instance, would consider the problem of promotion from one grade to the other within a particular department. On the other hand, the National Council would consider the problem of promotion within the civil service as a whole. In other words, to avoid overlapping or friction a clear-cut line of demarcation between the respective jurisdictions of the National Council and Departmental Councils is necessary.

According to the constitution of the National Whitley Council and also of the Departmental Councils the problems are to be discussed in general terms only. In actual practice, however, some Departmental Councils discuss even individual cases. For example, a Council may be asked by the Management to look through the promotion list prepared by the latter and suggest any modifications. This is done in order to win the goodwill of the staff representatives in the Whitley Council by making them feel that the Management wants to be fair to individual employees.

12. *Staff Relations in the Civil Service*, (H.M. Treasury) Appendix III (The Constitution of the National Whitley Council).

13. W.J. Mackenzie & J.W. Grove, Longmans, Green, London, 1957, *Central Administration in Britain*, p. 142.

There are also numerous District Whitley Committees and Office Whitley Committees within a Department.¹⁴ An Office Whitley Committee deals with such matters as concern the welfare of the staff employed in an office, e.g. canteen facilities. These District Office Committees generally report to their respective Departmental Councils.

As regards consultations and negotiations about the question of salary the Whitley Councils are now assisted by the findings of the Pay Research Unit which was set up recently as the result of the recommendations of the Priestley Commission (1953-55). The Commission had suggested a new formula for the determination of salaries of civil servants—"fair comparisons with rates of pay and conditions of service in comparable work outside the civil service". This formula is expected to provide for automatic adjustments in the civil service salaries when outside wages go up due to any rise of prices, etc. An institution is therefore needed to collect facts and figures about outside wages and condition of service on the basis of which the Whitley Councils could take decisions in regard to any need for changes in civil service salaries. This institution, called the Civil Service Pay Research Unit, works under the general supervision of a joint Whitley Committee of the National Whitley Council. The work of the Unit is directed by the Joint Committee.

Coming to the organization of the Whitley bodies, we find that each Whitley Council is composed of two parties—one is called the Official Side, the other Staff Side. The Official Side consists of the representatives of the Government while the Staff Side those of the employees. For getting a clear picture it may be useful to analyse the representation in the National Whitley Council as an illustration. There are fifty-four members in all, half being drawn from the Government and the other half from the staff associations respectively. The representatives of the Government are mostly permanent heads of Departments and a number of higher civil servants from the Treasury. The official head of the civil service—i.e., Joint Permanent Secretary of the Treasury—is the chairman of the Official Side as well as the chairman of the National Whitley Council as a whole. On the Staff Side of the Council we find that the twenty-seven representatives are selected according to the agreement arrived at between a number of staff associations of the various categories of civil servants. Only very few staff associations do not participate in, or are not allowed to participate, in the making of this agreement which forms the basis of

14. One more body has been set up recently to deal with salaries above £ 2,000 a year. It is composed of five persons nominated by the Prime Minister and it advises the Government about the revision of these higher salaries.

representation on the National Council. Most of the staff representatives are from among the whole-time employees of the staff associations as they can have enough time to devote to the work of the National Council and are also free from any civil service restraints so as to be more frank in the expression of their views publicly.

The National Whitley Council meets rarely in recent years. Much of the work is carried on through Committees and day-to-day contact between the leading members of both Sides. This practice makes for flexibility and informality in the consideration of personnel problems of mutual interest to the Government and the employees. Of course, the presence of the Council in the background is not without utility—it provides an unconscious pressure on those engaged in consultations and negotiations to arrive at agreements.

The success of Whitleyism depends very largely upon the adoption by both Sides of a policy of "co-operation and compromise rather than controversy and contention".¹⁵ Not only this but they have to be responsible in their dealings, rather than dodge a complex issue or adopt other dilatory tactics. They have to treat the agreements as 'joint handiwork' rather than impositions from outside. The Official Side has to exercise due care to implement the agreements not only in letter but also in spirit. It has also to resist the temptation of taking any unilateral action in regard to any unforeseen issues arising out of these agreements. It has also to desist from exploiting any differences which may arise between some associations and the Staff Side of a Whitley Council. The Staff Side on its part has to exercise proper self-restraint in regard to any matter which has not been settled to its satisfaction. Its members are not to indulge in bitter public agitations or in political lobbying but keep the matter 'within the family'. Such care prevents the alienation of the Official Side and the creation of unnecessary complications.

Both Sides have not only to try to agree with each other but also to carry the support of the authorities behind them respectively. Behind the Official Side lies the authority of the Cabinet in the case of National Council and that of the Minister in the case of Departmental Council. While minor matters may be handled by the Official Side on its own responsibility—discretion has been delegated to it for this purpose, on major issues the Official Side has to seek the approval of the Cabinet or Minister as the case may be before it can initiate or participate in discussions or reach agreements with the Staff Side. Hence, mutual trust and understanding between the Ministers and

15. Day, "Negotiation & Joint Consultation in the Civil Service", *Whitley Bulletin* (July 1953), Vol. XXXIII, No. 7, p.103.

higher civil servants is necessary if delays are to be avoided. Again, informal consultations on the Official Side take place from time to time to evolve a common view in regard to matters under discussion in a Whitley Council. This is necessary so as to avoid confusion in the proceedings of the Council.

On the Staff Side the attainment of a corporate spirit, as pointed out earlier, is a fairly complex problem. The members of this Side are drawn from staff associations representing different classes of civil servants and in some cases their interests may not always be in harmony with one another. Moreover, these representatives have to consult and seek the support of their associations before committing themselves on any important matter. In actual practice the Staff Side meets periodically to evolve unified views and sometimes even voting takes place in the meetings. Members of the Side have to remain in close touch with their associations. Sometimes, particular associations may be reluctant to "sacrifice their sectional points of view and take a wider viewpoint" but, luckily, as pointed out in an official publication, "reluctance has often been overcome, and only an incurable pessimist would doubt that it will be increasingly overcome by the very existence of Whitley Councils".¹⁶

Persuasion and compromise, in other words, play a vital part in the evolution of common views on the Staff Side and in this process leadership of the chairman and secretary-general has a big contribution to make. Again, difficulties sometimes arise when the organizations not represented on the Staff Side begin to challenge the discussions or agreements of a Whitley Council. A few such situations have arisen but ultimately difficulties have been overcome by the insistence of the Official Side to treat the Staff Side as representing the Staff as a whole and also by the adoption of a reasonable attitude by the Staff Side towards recalcitrant associations. There is a lot of truth in the assertion that "Whitleyism, in fact, will work as well as it can when civil servants of all grades and classes are willing to come together, on a democratic basis, to work for interest that they genuinely feel themselves to hold in common". In other words, the cultivation of will to co-operate among staff associations is absolutely necessary if Whitleyism is to succeed.

(3) *Advantages and Shortcomings*

It is claimed that Whitleyism has been valuable in more than one way. First, it has provided a suitable platform to civil servants to

16. H.M. Treasury, *Staff Relations in the Civil Service*, p.13.

express their views in regard to their conditions of service. They need no longer indulge in much political lobbying to make the members of Parliament goad the Government for a revision of those conditions. But they can now talk to the representatives of the Government face to face and use their collective strength in getting their viewpoints adequately considered. Political neutrality of the Civil Service gains by this avoidance of political lobbying.

Second, it is also said that Whitleyism creates goodwill and understanding between the Management and Staff. Sir Thomas Padmore's words are pertinent in this connection. According to him the "fund of goodwill which flows from action by consent" has been contributing "to the maintenance and raising of morale" which is so essential to efficiency in administration.¹⁷

Third, it is argued that efficiency improves because personnel policies become more progressive when the Management normally responsible for their formulation has also the benefit of the views of the Staff to whom these policies are ultimately going to effect. Mr. Winnifrith, who is intimately concerned with the framing of personnel policies in the British Civil Service, stresses this point: "Quite frankly I am ready to admit that the Management, if only because of its amateur status, does not always know what is best. It is, therefore, of the utmost value to the Management Side to have the benefit of informed staff opinion before introducing any changes in conditions of service."¹⁸

Fourth, it is said that parliamentary and public criticism of personnel management grows less intense when personnel and even some managerial matters are the subject-matter of joint consultations between the Management and the Staff in Whitley Councils. To quote Mr. Winnifrith again: "Agreement with the staff is of course not the complete answer to Parliamentary criticism but quite obviously if agreement has been reached on any particular feature in the code, the fact that there has been such agreement goes a long way in reply to any criticism".¹⁹ This exercise of reasonable self-restraint on the part of Parliament is conducive to morale as well as to the decentralization of powers within an administration.

The setting up of Whitley Councils has also been a helpful factor in extending the control and supervision of the Treasury over the

17. Winnifrith, 'Negotiation and Joint Consultation in the Civil Service', Whitley Bulletin, Vol. XXXIII, p. 104.

18. Ibid, p.104.

19. Padmore, 'Civil Service Establishments and the Treasury' in Robson (ed.). *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, op. cit., p.137.

varying conditions of service which formerly existed in different departments even for the same job. A "high degree of central control and management of conditions of service" necessitated by the existence of Whitley bodies has strengthened the trend towards a unified civil service²⁰ which has been developing since World War I in particular though its beginning can be traced to the fifties of the last century when Northcote-Trevelyan Report was published.

Supporters of Whitleyism point out that it has contributed to the strengthening of staff associations, to the growth of a spirit of unity among them and to making their attitude towards Management healthier. There is a considerable substance of truth in Sir Albert Day's remarks when he says : "The staff movement is much more harmonious, thanks to Whitleyism, than it used to be, and is imbued with a sense of common purpose and corporate responsibility once woefully lacking. Strong differences are sometimes revealed, of course, and occasionally there may be quite a blow-off. But I expect that can happen on the Official Side as well as, though in a House of Lords sort of way."²¹

But some shortcomings still remain in British Whitleyism. There is a complaint that the Staff Side is not readily willing "to concede reforms designed to simplify administration" if these reforms are likely to "result in a loss to any section of staff". This tendency naturally "discourages the management from proposing simplification at all".²² Managerial efficiency tends to suffer by any unreasonable opposition of the Staff Side to proposals within a Whitley body regarding simplification of administrative organization and procedures which may also result in retrenchment or downgrading of posts. Because of the fear of this opposition, the Management at time may not propose these things at all.

Critics also point out that there is a tendency at times for both the Official and Staff Sides to take only a current or a short-term view of things which come up for discussions. Mr. Winnifrith points out that this is due to the fact that "both sides have so much to think about in the form of current problems that they don't devote enough time and energy to such reflections".²³ This may not always be the case, yet this is a shortcoming which needs to be looked into.

Again, although staff associations have been learning, by and large, to co-operate among themselves in order to evolve a unified view

10. Winnifrith *op. cit.*, p.106.

21. Day, *op. cit.*, p.103.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid*

on the questions under discussion, yet the danger of the breaking out of violent differences is not yet over. At times, a few associations have tended to defy the Staff Side of the Whitley Council. The situation, therefore, needs vigilance and tactful handling. Finally, a suspicion tends to lurk in some minds occasionally that there are still a few members of the Official Side who lack adequate imagination and self-confidence in their work at Whitley Councils. This causes at times unnecessary delay in the disposal of the matters under discussion. Cultivation of a positive frame of mind by these persons has to be stimulated.

(4) The Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal

If a country introduces a system of joint consultations and negotiations within her administrative system, it is almost essential that it should also have an arbitration tribunal to which disputes may be referred when consultations and negotiations fail—to result in mutually acceptable agreements. In Britain there is such a tribunal called the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal which was set up in 1936.²⁴ The Chairman of the Tribunal is selected from among leading lawyers. There are two other members—one drawn from the panel selected by the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council, the other from the panel nominated by the Official Side of the Council. In theory, however, the members of the tribunal are nominated by the Minister of Labour. The Chairman of the Tribunal can give an umpire's verdict in the event of disagreement between the two members.

The Tribunal deals with cases of salaries referred to it not by individuals but by Whitley Councils or staff associations. But disputes regarding salaries ranging above £1,450 a year are outside the purview of the Tribunal at present but this limit can be changed from time to time. Disputes may be taken to the Tribunal by the parties together or by any one of them. The Tribunal has played a useful role but only in a limited sense. The mechanism has proved successful in suggesting small adjustment in salary scale which are needed to change in outside conditions within the country. Now that the Pay Research Unit has been set up to collect facts for the need for adjustments, it is doubtful whether the Tribunal would still play even as much role in this connection as in the past. So far as the general overhaul of salary structure is concerned the Tribunal cannot be much useful as this has to be attempted either by the National Whitley Council or a specially appointed Royal Commission in Britain.

24. Before 1936 too, there were arrangements for arbitration; a Division of the Industrial Court dealt with complaints about emoluments.

WHITLEYISM AT THE LOCAL LEVEL²⁵

In 1955 there were nearly fifteen hundred Local Authorities in England and Wales alone, employing nearly one million and a quarter persons in extensively diverse jobs. In theory, each Local Authority has the power to recruit its own staff and determine their terms of employment. Only in a few cases—such as the members of the Police force or of Fire Services—the Government have a statutory control, in the interest of administrative efficiency, over conditions of service. In actual practice, however, terms of employment of the local government employees are determined by general consultatives among the Local Authorities and by negotiation between these Authorities collectively and the employees' association in specially constituted bodies called Joint Councils and Committees. The Government has also set up negotiating bodies for the group of employees whose terms of employment they have the power to regulate.

The idea of negotiations as the basis for determination of terms of employment for the Local Government employees began to spread after the World War I, as the result of the recommendations of the Whitley Committee referred to earlier in this article. But the idea made only a slow headway at the municipal level due to the indifference of the Local Authorities and also the lack of not only unity but also a compromising attitude among the staff unions. Only a few negotiating bodies for some categories of employees were set up but even their operations achieved a limited success in improving as well as in standardizing, to some extent, the conditions of service. It was, however, during World War II and after that things began to move faster at the local level. In 1940, the promulgation of the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order exerted a pressure upon Local Authorities to become willing to negotiate with employees collectively in order to ensure uniformity of wages between the Local Authority employees and the employees of other Public Authorities in every geographical area. This Order is popularly called the 'National Charter for the Local Government Service'.²⁶ Again, the "wartime shortages of labour and the necessity to eliminate disputes made the machinery for settling wages a matter of interest to central Departments as well as to local authorities."²⁷ The result of this active interest on the part of the parties concerned was the reorganization, extension and

25. Discussion here is confined only to local governments in England and Wales.

26. J.H. Warner, *Municipal Administration* (London, 1955), p.170.

27. Mrs. Marjorie McIntosh, 'The Negotiation of Wages and Conditions of Service, for Local Authority Employees in England and Wales', *Public Administration* (R.I.P.A.), Vol. XXXIII (1955), p.150.

revitalization of negotiating bodies. The existing ones were reconstituted while additional twenty-nine were set up from 1945 onwards, bringing the total to thirty-seven in 1955.

The negotiating bodies organized for Local Authorities and their employees on a national basis are called National Joint Councils, Joint National Councils and by some other names. They differ among themselves. The main differences are :

- (i) Some of the negotiating bodies have been set up as the result of negotiations between the associations of the Local Authorities and those of their employees. The decisions of these bodies are not binding upon the two parties concerned but these are, by and large, accepted in actual practice. Two examples of this type of negotiating bodies are the Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Council and the Manual Workers (Non-trading) Council. Then there is the second category of negotiating bodies which have been set up either by law or by voluntary agreement to assist the Ministers in the exercise of their statutory powers in regard to the determination of conditions of service for certain group of local employees.
- (ii) Some of the negotiating bodies cover all the Local Government employees all over Britain while others are only for those working in England and Wales. Again, a few of these bodies are for Local Authorities only while others are common for Local Authorities and some other Public Authorities.
- (iii) While the management side of a negotiating body draws representatives from the various associations of Local Authorities and a regional negotiating committee if there is one, the employees side may draw members from staff unions or both from such unions and the professional organizations.
- (iv) While many of the national negotiating bodies are unitary in their organization, some have a quasi-federal structure—i.e., a national body with a number of attached Provincial or District Committees or Councils.

The negotiating bodies for the Local Government employees differ in some ways from the Whitley Councils existing in the national administration. In the former case the Management Side consists of the representatives of a very large number of semi-autonomous

Local Authorities, while in the latter case the Official Side consists of the representatives of only one employer, *i.e.*, the Government. The evolution of a common management viewpoint is obviously more difficult and complex in the case of these negotiating bodies than in that of Whitley Councils. Again, the evolution of a corporate spirit on the employees' side in the negotiating bodies is also difficult as compared with the position in Whitley Councils. This is due to the fact that in the case of the former the representatives are drawn not only from the staff unions but also from professional organizations.

The result of this difference in the internal organization of the negotiating bodies and Whitley Councils is the cause of delay in arriving at decisions and in their implementation. Decisions cannot be reached quickly if corporate spirit on each of the two sides is lacking. Again, when the decisions are not to be implemented by one employer but a large number of employers with varying financial resources and psychology, implementation becomes both dilatory and complex.

The interests of the Whitley Council also appear to be wider than those of the negotiating bodies at the level of Local Government. The former discuss many aspects of the personnel management in the national administration, though mostly in general terms, the latter are concerned chiefly with negotiating for salaries and other conditions of service.

There is a provision for arbitration, in the municipal administration as well. When a deadlock takes place in a negotiating body which cannot be resolved even by the intervention of the Labour Minister, the disputes are referred to the Industrial Court or Industrial Disputes Tribunal, according to the nature of the case. Arrangements for arbitration, as pointed out earlier have to go hand-in-hand with any system of consultations and negotiations if breakdown in the system are to be reduced.

The existence of the system of negotiations in the municipal administration of England has been of advantage in two chief ways. First, it has led to a growing uniformity (with due allowance for regional and financial consideration) and improvement in the conditions of service of the numerous employees of hundreds of different employers, *i.e.*, Local Authorities. These developments have facilitated not only the raising of morale but also the mobility of the staff from one Local Authority to the other. Municipal efficiency has thus gained. Second, since collective bargaining cannot take place effectively without proper and systematic representation of the employees on the negotiating bodies, the staff unions have gained in extent, number and strength since they are to provide largely this representation. Sharing of

responsibility in these bodies has also not failed to make the staff unions less negative in their attitude.

Some critics are of the view²⁸ (which the present writer shares on the basis of his own field observations) that the system of negotiating bodies at the municipal level in England suffers from three main shortcomings. First, one has already been pointed out earlier, *i.e.*, occurrence of delay in making and implementing decisions. Second, there is too much of centralization in decision-making in regard to the conditions of service. Decisions are taken in the isolation of a negotiating body without, in some cases, active consultations with all the Local Authorities. Employees do not feel enthusiastic for their employers even after a wage rise as a decision about it has been taken by a negotiating body which may not have an intimate and living contact with the Local Authorities. Third, there are too many negotiating bodies for the municipal employees—about 37 of them in 1955 in England and Wales. The result of this too much fragmentation in decision-making about conditions of service is the lack of a co-ordinated approach and the existence of spirit of competitiveness among the negotiating bodies. Again, the existence of a large number of negotiating bodies puts a strain on the availability of well-qualified men to serve on them. Let it not be forgotten that the success of negotiating body largely depends upon the human factor. Persons who serve on each side of a body are to be those who possess knowledge and experience, an open mind and a spirit of compromise as well as time and skill for negotiations. Since the negotiating bodies at the municipal level do not possess adequate corporate spirit both on the management side and the employees' side, the task of negotiator is even more difficult in these bodies than is the case in Whitley Councils.

There is thus a need for integration and overhaul of the negotiating bodies operating at the municipal level. The aims should be to prevent too much centralization as well as fragmentation of decisions, to reduce delays in negotiation and implementation of decisions and to avoid too much strain on the human and financial resources of the Local Authorities. At present the achievements of Whitleyism in the municipal administrations are less impressive than its success in the national administration. Rethinking, planning and reorganization are, therefore, very much needed for making a better success of Whitleyism at the municipal level in England.

28. See, for instance, the comments of:

- (a) Mrs Marjorie McIntosh in her three articles on the "Negotiations of Wages and Conditions of Service for Local Authority Employees in England and Wales, in *Public Administration* (London), Vol. XXXIII (1955)
- (b) L. Krammer, "Reflection on Whitleyism in English Local Government", *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXVI (1958).

CORRESPONDENCE

SERVICES' ORGANIZATION & ADMINISTRATION

The Editor,
I.J.P.A.

Sir,

Shri M.S. Ramayyar has, in his highly informative and interesting article on "Financial Control Over Expenditure in the Central Government", published in the last issue of your *Journal*, made the following observations in regard to the division of functions concerning "Public Service" between the Union Ministries of Home Affairs and Finance : "As all matters relating to service problems are settled only in consultation between the Ministries of Home Affairs and Finance, this leads to cross-references between these two Ministries and consequent delays. The entrustment of responsibility to the Ministry of Home Affairs over Public Services in general and the All India Services in particular was natural in the period before transfer of power when the primary responsibility of Government was the maintenance of internal security. Whether the overlap of functions between the two Ministries and consequent delays in service matters cannot be avoided and the United Kingdom model followed deserves early and serious consideration" (*I.J.P.A.*, Vol. V, No. 1., p.35).

The above reference to the overlap of functions between the Ministries of Finance and Home Affairs in matters relating to public services is not very clear. Perhaps what is meant is that while the Ministry of Finance has the final say in the matter

of creation of new services and determination of grades and scales of pay, strength of cadres, and conditions of service, the Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for setting of common standards or patterns of recruitment, discipline, etc. The Ministry of Home Affairs is also responsible for the administration of All India Services (e.g., the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Police Service, etc.) and the Central Secretariat Services. All orders concerning these services, even if they relate to fixation of pay, travel and leave concessions, or pension benefits, are issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, after a fuller consultation with the Ministry of Finance, of their financial implications. The latter consultations are many a time protracted and result in 'compromise decisions' and delays. (The day-to-day administration of individual services rests with the Ministries concerned.)

The above division of functions between the Finance and Home Ministries in regard to the organization and administration of the public services, is, it is generally agreed, far from satisfactory. Perhaps what *Shri Ramayyar* recommends is an 'absolute and comprehensive' control over all these functions by one single ministry—the Ministry of Finance, on the lines obtaining in Great Britain.¹ The unified arrangements in this respect in that country briefly are as follows : "The Treasury is organized in two components : the service and the financial wings. The service wing is responsible for policy

1. Samuel H. Beer, *Treasury Control*, Oxford, London, 1957, p.11.

relating to recruitment, promotion and retirement. It deals with questions relating to manpower generally, and in particular with pay scales, conditions of service, grading of administrative, professional, scientific and technical classes of the Civil Service. These functions are arranged in several sections in the Establishment Division of the Treasury. In addition, there are the two important divisions of Organization and Methods and of Training and Education. The Organization and Methods Division provides and co-ordinates organization and method services for a large number of departments. Incorporated in this division is the machinery of government branch, a small unit which undertakes inquiries into the structure of government organization and into the division of functions between departments. The Training and Education Division is responsible for general questions of training in the Civil Service and for arranging central courses, mainly for Assistant Principals and certain other senior grades.”²

The solution proposed by *Shri Ramayyar* for resolving the present difficulties in regard to administration of services is too simple and naive. It does not take into account the historical, political and economic circumstances which have led to the present arrangements, it also fails to meet the challenge of the new forces of democracy, development and socialism which are gradually transforming the nature and functions of our state and demanding a fundamental readjustment in the administrative organization and methods of our Government.

* * *

The problem of creation and administration of public services has

three main aspects : (1) financial, (2) personnel, and (3) structural. The ‘financial’ aspect ought to, as it is at present, be taken care of by the Ministry of Finance. The ‘personnel’ aspect covers a wide range of matters than what are at present dealt with by the Ministry of Home Affairs—in addition to recruitment, training and discipline, it includes the promotion system, work incentives, morale, employee organization, and human relations in administration. The latter personnel matters do not seem to have received any sustained and considered attention in the Ministry of Home Affairs; they appear to have been dealt with on an *ad hoc* basis as and when the necessity arose. The scant attention paid to these problems by the Ministry of Home Affairs may be partly due to the fact that the Ministry has tried to exercise ultimate control both over the ‘financial’ and ‘personnel’ aspects of services’ organization and administration. This tendency is, in effect, the logical outcome of the system of ‘establishment work’ as prevailing in India. Establishment work, in Indian administration as in the British, comprises two main elements : expenditure of funds and staffing matters. In the United States of America, however, these two matters are dealt with separately. The ‘personnel’ function there is not so much full of ‘financial’ contents as in India and the U.K.

The ‘structural’ aspect of public services is at present looked after also by the Ministry of Finance which, of late, has developed a special agency, known as the Special Reorganization Unit to make use of modern techniques of work study for purposes of determination and evaluation of standards of performance

2. Asok Chanda, *Indian Administration*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1958, p. 207.

and determination of staff complements. Surprisingly enough this Unit seems to have paid little attention to the problems of the structure of services, span of control, etc.

* * *

In my opinion, the real solution to the problem of the services' organization and administration lies not in the kind of unified arrangements obtaining in the U.K., but in entrusting its three major aspects to three distinct and separate governmental authorities, *i.e.*, the financial aspect to Ministry of Finance, the 'personnel' aspect to the Ministry of Home Affairs and the 'structural' aspect to the O & M Division of the Cabinet Secretariat. The change in the nature and scope of governmental functions and the need for adjusting administrative institutions and practices to the new forces of democracy, development and socialism, both of them point clearly to the futility of our transplanting any foreign institutions and practices and to the desirability of evolving organizational patterns and work methods best suited to the scale and content of our growing needs. In this connection it may be worthwhile to recall some of the recommendations made by Dean Paul H. Appleby. His recommendations may not be based, as some point out, on a fuller survey of the entire administrative universe, but they reveal an unparalleled depth of administrative insight and a unique breadth of administrative vision. Mr. Appleby, in his first report of 1953, listed the important personnel and structural ills as follows:³ (1) "The structure within ministries is ill-designed for delegation". (2) Too little attention is given to the

important matter of developing the potentialities of subordinate employees already in service of government. Diversification of experience, opportunities for part-time schooling, and small promotions in responsibility as frequently as growth justifies these matters need more attention". (3) "Assignments of personnel to particular jobs are made too impersonally, too remotely from the point of responsibility for what is done on the job, and with too little regard for the emotional pulls of individuals towards certain kinds of assignments. At almost all levels of the public service it seems to be too much assumed that one person of a certain 'class' is equal to another person of that class". (4) "Personnel so selected are arranged self-consciously in too firm 'classes' and too firm and too many special 'services' with barriers between classes and services too high. There is, in consequence, too little sense of one public service, and too much jealousy".

In a departmental note on 'Morale at Subordinate Levels', subsequently published in the issue of this *Journal* for April-June 1957,⁴ Mr. Appleby attributed the lower morale at subordinate levels to the failure of the people in upper ranks to demonstrate a lively interest in subordinates, both individually and collectively, the inadequacy of the internal communication system, the slowness of promotions, the greater emphasis on seniority than on merit, the ineffectiveness of in-service and orientation training programmes, etc. These and various personnel problems highlighted by Mr. Appleby deserve not only special consideration of Government but also research. However, such consideration and

3. *Public Administration in India—Report of a Survey*, O & M Division, Cabinet Secretariat, 1953, p. 23 and p. 12.

4. *I.J.P.A.*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 97-98.

research can grow and flourish only if the Ministry of Home Affairs was to divest itself of its present responsibilities in regard to the financial aspect of the problem of services' organization and administration and leave them totally to the Ministry of Finance. Research on personnel matters listed above, in particular on human relations in services, is vitally important if we have to develop methods and practices suitable for the particular circumstances of our developing economy; results of research borrowed from other countries can be of little avail. *It is doubtful if such personnel research will take the required form, and the human relations orientation so vital to it, if the personnel aspect of the public services was also transferred to the Ministry of Finance, as Shri Ramayyar contemplates. Finance men, as a rule, are too much money-oriented to have the right type of attitude for devising policies and measures for, what Mr. Appleby calls, 'personnel development'.*

* * *

What is true of research in regard to purely personnel matters is equally true of research in respect of financial and organizational matters. One of the important recommendations made by Mr. Appleby in his second report was the development of "intraministerial financial competence in the programme agencies".⁵ At the moment it does not appear that the Ministry of Finance or the internal financial advisers in various Ministries have worked out any 'standard costs' for different types of projects in respect of different major

items of expenditure, such as office accommodation, staffing, office correspondence and communication etc. *Shri Ramayyar* does not enlighten us much on this point.

Similarly it is doubtful if the Special Reorganization Unit of the Ministry of Finance and the O & M Division of the Cabinet Secretariat have done any research or evolved any standard in regard to the hierarchical structures most suitable for administrative efficiency. Mr. Appleby, in his first report, recommended that "any normal pyramiding would suggest (except where Secretaries have non-administrative functions) about four Joint Secretaries to each Secretary and Additional Secretary, about four Deputy Secretaries to each Joint Secretary, about four Under Secretaries to each Deputy Secretary, and from four to seven Assistant Secretaries to each Under Secretary, with about the same number of section or unit heads under each Assistant Secretary."⁶ Earlier, in 1949, Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar had recommended "As a broad rule of general application, I hold that a secretariat organization of three deputy secretaries, each in charge of one secretariat division, should be regarded as the ordinary upper limit of the manageable charge of a single secretary unassisted by a joint secretary. A similar organization with five deputy secretaries and five secretariat divisions with a wing located in it would be the ordinary upper limit of the manageable charge of one secretary assisted by a joint secretary".⁷ We do not know what further research in the matter has been undertaken by the Government.

5. Paul H. Appleby, *Re-examination of India's Administrative System with Special Reference to Administration of Government's Industrial and Commercial Enterprises*, Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, 1956, p. 23.

6. *Public Administration in India—Report of a Survey*, op. cit., p. 30.

7. N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, *Report on the Reorganisation of the Machinery of Government*, para 17.

Again, on the desirability of adjusting the staffing pattern to the requirements of special skill and greater speed, an experiment known as the 'Pilot Section' was started by the O & M Division sometime in August 1956. The public, however, is little aware of the success or otherwise attained by the scheme. Apparently, it would be too much to prescribe one or two patterns of staffing arrangements for different types of work varying in nature, quality, and volume of contents.

* * *

For lack of space it does not seem practicable here to advance the arguments further. What has been said above amply underlines the importance of the need for research—in Finance, in Home and in O & M. Without such research it is not perhaps possible to give any final answer to the problem like the overlap between the Ministries of Finance and Home Affairs in matters of services' organization and administration.

For purposes of research on personnel matters, what is urgently needed is the creation of a research unit or division within the Ministry of Home Affairs. This unit or division may, to begin with, serve as a nucleus for personnel research, and its various research activities may, as they spread and grow, be transplanted in the various services' divisions within the Ministry of Home Affairs so as to make each of them, research-oriented. Whether the latter development will also call for some change in the staffing patterns will require to be looked into. These are again matters of detail. The proposal for initiation of research on personnel matters has been put forward in the columns of this esteemed *Journal*, hoping that it will catch the eye of the proper authorities. The writer will be grateful if the readers of the *Journal*, or the authorities concerned will come forward with their individual points of view or opinions.

Yours faithfully,
S. Pal.

New Delhi,
May 18, 1959.

II

ROAD ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

The Editor,
I.J.P.A.

Sir,

Shri R.A. Deshpande in his recent and interesting article in your *Journal* has pointed out the need for proper Road Administration in India (*IJPA*, Vol. V., No. I, January-March, 1959).

He has made a good point in emphasizing the necessity for creating a State Highway Department in every State of India. Highway planning and construction to meet the road transport needs is a special-

ized work and should not be entrusted to the Public Works Departments of the States any more.

Instead of creating a 'Highway Board' in each State as recommended by Shri Deshpande it would perhaps be better if a unified 'Transport and Communications Department' is created. This would be similar to the Ministry of Transport and Communications in the Government of India having two wings—Communications and Transport. Such a department would not only be able to better understand the relationship between roads and the various types

of transport using them, it would also be able to distribute the profit for the development of roads and vehicles in a balanced manner.

It may further be added that due attention to the suitable personnel needs is equally important. No matter what technical improvements and organizational arrangements are brought about to improve administrative efficiency the desired results cannot be achieved without competent personnel.

The first requisite to attract suitable personnel for this department would be to offer them fair terms of service. In this connection Mr. Appleby's well known recommendations should be implemented.

Yours faithfully,
Tejbir Khanna

New Delhi,
May 11, 1959.

* * *

Sir,

Shri Tejbir Khanna has suggested the creation of a unified Department of Transport and Communications in each State on the lines of the Ministry of Transport and Communications at the Centre, instead of Highway Boards as recommended by me. I have proposed the constitution of a Highway Board in preference to a departmental organization on account of the following reasons :—

(a) While suggesting the organizational set-up for the administration of the roads in the States, it is necessary to take into account the vital distinction in the sphere of duties and responsibilities between the States and the Centre in regard to the administration of roads. Whereas the Centre is only the co-ordinating authority, the States are

the actual administering authorities and therefore a departmental set-up, which would be adequate to the needs at the Centre, may not be able to ensure adequate attention in the States, particularly in the context of the execution of a rapid Road Development Plan. Hence the administrative set-up will have to be much more vigorous and powerful as in the case of Railways. A high power body like the "Highway Board" is therefore proposed on the model of Railway Board.

(b) Road Transport is at present scattered in the administration of both track and operation. The management of track, i.e., roads, is in the hands of several authorities and the operation is controlled by thousands of individuals. Road transport by its very nature is scattered but it is essential that for the proper functioning of both, there should be close and constant co-ordination. This can be achieved with advantage by including the Chairman of the nationalized State Road Transport in the "Highway Board" as recommended by me. In a departmental set-up, there is no place for the head of a nationalized transport, who is generally under an autonomous corporation. It must be remembered that Railways could improve their efficiency only because of their ability to co-ordinate the track and operation.

The Motor Transport Commissioner can only regulate the traffic but cannot ensure the development of road transport without the support of the transport operating authority.

(c) A Highway Board would be able to function as a self-sufficient unit balancing its income against expenditure over a longer period than is possible in a departmental organization.

(d) It is well recognized that a plural headed form of administrative authority permits a representation of more than one viewpoint in the formulation of policy and ensures satisfactory co-ordination and development.

In view of the above facts, I am of the opinion that a Highway Board is better suited to administer the Road Development Plan.

I agree with *Shri Khanna* that due attention is required to be given to

the suitable needs of the personnel. It is only with this view, I have recommended the constitution of an "Indian Service of Highway Engineers" in my article referred to by him. This presupposes that the service conditions will be fair and attractive.

Yours faithfully,
R. A. Deshpande

Bangalore,
May 22, 1959.

RECENT TRENDS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

A notable recent development in the matter of the recruitment policy has been the Government of India's decision to fill in future the posts, in the organised engineering services under the Central Government as well as those outside such services, by yearly bulk selections by the Union Public Service Commission. For this purpose the Commission will prepare lists of candidates found fit for appointment to Class I or Class II posts, permanent and temporary.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has established a Pool for temporary placement of well-qualified Indian scientists, technologists, engineers and medical personnel returning from abroad, until they are absorbed in suitable posts on a more or less permanent basis. Persons with Indian qualifications who had outstanding academic records were also eligible for appointment to the Pool. On the advice of the Union Public Service Commission, 123 persons have been selected for initial appointment to the Pool.

Statistics regarding the educational backgrounds of the Indian Administrative Service officers, as in May last year, reveal that out of the total strength of approximately 1,460 officers, 373 Indian Administrative Service officers had science or technical degrees.

The Union Ministry of Home Affairs has constituted a committee to assess the suitability of persons registered with the Delhi Employment Exchange for posts of Lower Division Clerks in the Central Secretariat and to draw up a panel of suitable persons from which the Employment Exchange would nomi-

nate candidates against the vacancies. The new arrangements would ensure a high standard in the quality of persons recruited and also avoid delay in recruitment.

* * *

As regards training for public services, the Central Secretariat Training School, New Delhi, which conducts courses to familiarise Assistant Superintendents and Assistants, recruited directly, with Government work and routine, will admit hereafter 200 trainees instead of 100 as at present. In consultation with its Director, the Central O & M Division has finalised a standard syllabus for the departmental training of Lower Division Clerks employed in different Union Ministries and offices. The duration of the course shall be eight weeks and the total number of lectures would be sixteen (two lectures a week).

A three-week in-service training course to improve the quality and timely supply of educational statistics, received from the universities and States every year, was organised by the Union Ministry of Education in April last.

* * *

Following a suggestion contained in the First Plan that when specific allegations are made in the Press against individual public officers, they should be asked to clear their names in courts, the Government of India has decided that when allegations are made in the Press or by individuals against a Government servant regarding his conduct while discharging

his "public functions", a preliminary confidential inquiry by a senior official should be ordered. If the confidential inquiry leads to the conclusion that the allegations are based "on ignorance, insufficient information or even malice", it should be further considered whether any legal action is necessary to vindicate the conduct of the public servant concerned. In some cases, mere publication of the results of the inquiry "may not always carry conviction with the public". However, if some legal action is decided upon, it should also be considered whether the government or the employee should initiate proceedings in a court. On the other hand, if after the inquiry, conclusive or otherwise, it is considered that there are "reasonable grounds to doubt the propriety and correctness of the conduct of the public servant, the case may be entrusted to the Special Police Establishment for investigation. Alternatively, the Government might order a full departmental inquiry under the Central Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules, or require the officer to vindicate his conduct by resorting to a court of law.

In *Andhra Pradesh*, the Government has issued *Andhra Pradesh Government Servants' Conduct Rules* in supersession of the Rules in force in the erstwhile Hyderabad State. The new Rules, among others, restrict the receipt of gifts to personal friends only and extend the restriction regarding promotion and management of companies, so far applicable to gazetted officers only, to all officers.

The *Bihar Government Servants' Conduct Rules, 1956*, have been amended to prohibit the use by a Government servant of any influence, directly or indirectly, to secure employment for any relation in any private firm with which he has official dealings or with any other firm hav-

ing official dealings with the Government; he is also debarred, except with the previous sanction of the Government, from permitting his son, daughter or dependent to accept employment with any such private firm.

The *Kerala Government* has issued fresh instructions reiterating that stringent steps will be taken against those who violate the order prohibiting the utilisation of Grade IV Government employees for household and personal work of officers.

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The Government of *Bombay* has announced uniform pay-scales for primary teachers in the entire *Bombay State*, retrospective from April 1, 1958. For this purpose, all primary teachers in the employ of Government and local bodies have been divided into two categories—untrained and trained. Trained teachers are further classified into 'junior trained' and 'senior trained'.

The *Punjab Government* has decided to reduce the number of holidays from 33 to 9—3 national holidays and six others. The national holidays are Republic Day, Independence Day and Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday; other holidays which can be broken into half days may be made use of by the employees at their option. Casual leave has been reduced from 20 to an average of 15 days. For daily working hours, the year has been broken into two parts: *Winter* (September to April)—from 9 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. with a half-hour lunch break, and Saturdays and Sundays as off-days; *Summer* (May to August)—from 7 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. (no lunch break) with only Sunday as off-day.

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In accordance with the advice of the Union Public Service Commission, tendered after its examination all the relevant records and the

report of the Board of Enquiry presided over by *Shri Justice Vivian Bose* in regard to the responsibility for the purchase by the Life Insurance Corporation, of shares, valued over Rs. 1.26 crores, of six concerns controlled by *Shri Haridas Mundhra*, the Government of India has decided to drop the charges against *Shri H.M. Patel*, I.C.S., formerly Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance. The Commission had advised the Government to 'exonerate' *Shri Patel* as in its opinion no blame could be attached to him. However, one member of the U.P.S.C., dissenting with the majority opinion of the Commission, had endorsed the Bose Board's conclusion that the "charges against *Shri Patel* are proved" and had recommended his compulsory retirement.

In regard to *Shri G.R. Kamat*, formerly Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation, the Government has, as held by the Vivian Bose Board and the U.P.S.C., accepted his "legal and technical liability" for the impropriety and the unbusinesslike nature of the transaction, but pointed out that he had been Chairman of the Corporation for barely three weeks when the transaction took place. The Government has agreed with the U.P.S.C.'s view that only the penalty of censure be imposed on him. The Union Public Service Commission had held that *Shri Kamat's* fault lay in placing too much reliance on the Managing Director, *Shri L.S. Vaidyanathan*, and not paying himself adequate attention to the fixing of the prices of the shares.

As regards the responsibility of the then Finance Minister, *Shri T.T. Krishnamachari*, the Government has expressed the view that the initiative for the purchase of the Mundhra shares did not emanate from him, and so far as the transaction was concerned "only the consti-

tutional responsibility of the Minister was attracted and as a consequence he resigned".

One of the main findings of the Vivian Bose Board of Enquiry and the Chagla Commission was that the object of the transaction was to help *Shri Mundhra*; and the only motive to help *Shri Mundhra* that suggested itself to the Vivian Bose Board, so far as the record before them went, was "a *quid pro quo* for the donations given by *Shri Mundhra* to the Congress funds and an attempt to fulfil promises made to him about the Kanpur Mills". The Union Public Service Commission is unanimous in disagreeing with this suggestion. It has observed that it "has been unable to find anything in the papers referred to it to support the view that the transaction was entered into as a *quid pro quo* for the 'generous gestures' of *Shri Mundhra*...". The Government of India has agreed with the view of the U.P.S.C.

The Government has also not agreed fully with the observations of the Vivian Bose Board that there was lack of regard for the autonomous working of the Life Insurance Corporation. The Government is of the view that "the responsibility for supervising, guiding and directing such corporations in order to ensure their proper working rests on the Government, who have to assume it in order to enable them to discharge their duty to Parliament".... It follows, therefore, "that the legal provisions should not be construed to prevent the Government from having recourse to other channels of communication, such as informal discussions or conferences".

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The Road Transport Reorganisation Committee which was appointed in May 1958 with *Shri M.R. Masani*, M.P., as Chairman, has, in its

report, suggested that there should be a Transport Minister and a Transport Ministry in each State to deal exclusively with roads and road transport; the Ministry might have two wings: a roads wing under a Chief Engineer, and a transport wing under a Transport Commissioner. Wherever transport is nationalised its operation should be kept completely independent of the administration of the Motor Vehicles Act. A State Transport Advisory Committee should be established to advise on matters relating to the development of road transport.

The Committee appointed in January 1959 by the Government of India to examine the cost structure and efficiency of the Indian Airlines Corporation has reported that the general standards of the I.A.C. operations and the 'quality' of the transport offered to the public are very good, particularly when the low average level of fares is borne in mind; and that the I.A.C. provides a very satisfactory system of domestic air services in India. The Committee, however, finds that, in contrast to the commendable operating standards, the Corporation's planning and control of expenditure needs improvement. Here the main defects are a general lack of cost-consciousness in the organisation, inadequate budgetary planning, and deficiency in the system of controlling budgeted expenditure.

The Government of India has issued instructions to all the Union Ministries to effect maximum economy in the use of paper; a cut of 15% has been imposed on the scales prescribed for the issue of paper and paper-made articles of stationery to the Ministries. The Central O & M Division has, in consultation with the Central Economy Board, made certain suggestions for effecting economy in the printing and issue of invitations for various official functions.

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha, in its 57th report, has called for a reorganisation of the present set-up of the Department of Central Excise which has grown haphazardly, employs more men than are necessary and follows archaic and cumbersome procedure. It has also recommended the appointment of a central excise reorganisation committee to undertake a comprehensive examination of the organisation and working of the Department on the lines of the Badhwar Committee on customs and the Tyagi Committee on direct taxes. The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha has, in another report, suggested the creation of a separate Ministry to administer the Union Territories, as the Committee feels that the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, with its enormous responsibilities such as law and order, public services, Zonal Councils and matters relating to High Courts and the Supreme Court, may not be able to devote the attention and care that the Union Territories require. In its examination of the Central Board of Revenue, the Committee has found that in combining the Secretariat functions of the Department of Revenue and administrative functions of the C.B.R. in the same persons in India, the purpose of the C.B.R. Act has been largely defeated.

In *Assam*, arrangement has been made for periodical meetings of Secretaries and Heads of Departments at an informal social level, with a view to promoting better inter-departmental understanding and discussion of common administrative problems, as also some basic rethinking about the tasks facing the State Government and about organisation and procedures most suited to meet them.

In *Bombay*, the State Government has constituted a study group to examine the administrative tasks

and problems which are likely to arise in the implementation of the Third Five Year Plan.

The U.P. Government has withdrawn, after more than a year's trial, the scheme under which Heads of Departments were required to obtain the orders of the Government by referring the files and not through correspondence by letters. The scheme was tried by way of experiment in three departments of the Secretariat (*viz.*, Forest, Irrigation and Education) and covered all matters except those relating to establishment. It was expected to lead to increased efficiency, quick disposal and economy, in expenditure. Although there was some economy, there was confusion, delay, inefficiency and lack of proper control; and the scheme had, therefore, been given up.

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In the field of local government, the trend for strengthening and development of popular bodies at the village and the block levels continues.

The Government of Bihar has set up a four-member committee to recommend a revised pattern for District Boards.

The Mysore Village Panchayats and Local Boards Bill, 1959, passed by the Mysore Legislative Council on May 2, is designed to give greater autonomy and more financial powers for village panchayats. The Bill also seeks to establish taluk boards; and the district boards will be abolished.

The Government of Orissa has decided to reorganise the Gram Panchayats on the basis of the report of the Gram Panchayats Inquiry Committee released on June 27 last.

In Rajasthan, the Government has decided to introduce democratic

decentralisation at village, block and district levels, as recommended by the Balvantray Mehta Team for the study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, throughout the State with effect from October 2 this year. In each community development block, a new body, called the *Panchayat Samiti*, will be constituted, consisting of the sarpanchas of the village Panchayats and Chairmen of Municipalities with population of less than 8,000. Planning and execution of all development programmes at the block level will henceforth be the functions of the new popular body. At the district level the existing district boards will be abolished; and a *Zila Parishad* will be set up to advise the Collector and District Magistrate, who is also the District Development Officer, on all matters relating to developmental activities at the district level. The *Parishad* will consist of all M.Ps. and M.L.As. of the district and Presidents of the *Panchayat Samitis* and Chairmen of larger Municipalities, and it will also supervise the working of the *Panchayat Samitis*. With effect from April 2, the Panchayat Department and the Directorate of Panchayats have been merged in the Development Department under the Development Commissioner-cum-Additional Chief Secretary. The post of Chief Panchayat Officer has been redesignated as Deputy Development Commissioner (Panchayats). The State Government has further set up a seven-member committee, with the State Director of Local Bodies as its Member-Secretary, to report on the inadequacy of local finances and to suggest measures for improvement.

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Some interesting observations and recommendations on the progress and administration of the

community development and national extension service programmes have been made in the reports of the committees which have gone into their working recently.

The Estimates Committee of the *Madhya Pradesh* Vidhan Sabha has, in its fifth report, observed that emphasis on different activities undertaken in block areas must be in proportion to their importance and according to their priority. The utmost emphasis should be laid on programmes of economic development, namely, agriculture, irrigation, co-operation and industrial training.

A non-official committee, appointed by the *Punjab* Government, has, in its recent report, described the administrative processes in the community projects and N.E.S. blocks as extravagant and wasteful, and it would like them "to go lock, stock and barrel". Not only is the administrative expenditure on the schemes far out of proportion to the actual results, but there is notable inability to generate the initiative of the people, as was originally intended. The Committee favours replacement of all governmental agencies functioning in the rural areas by consolidated units, integrated with the proposed local self-government super-

structure that may come into being as a result of the State Government's consideration of recommendations of the Mehta Study Team. The Community Project Department should cease to function and the entire responsibility for co-ordinated work and arranging of funds should be assumed by the Local Self-Government Department.

The 12-man Committee, appointed by the *U.P.* Government under the chairmanship of *Shri Govind Sahai*, has reported that the main emphasis in the community development programmes has remained on "agriculture, work programmes and fulfilment of physical targets" while other aspects of life have not been emphasised. The Committee recommends reshaping of these programmes so as to "embrace all sections of the people and cover all aspects of life" and stresses the need of simplifying the administration from the village to the State level. The posts of the village level worker and the panchayat secretary may be combined. At the State level, the Committee recommends the integration of the departments of Industries, Information, Harijan Welfare, Social Welfare, Education, Public Health and Irrigation.

NEWS FROM ABROAD

An international seminar on 'Problems of Comparative Administration Related to Economic and Social Development' was convened at Cairo from April 21 to 29 by the National Planning Committee, Government of the United Arab Republic, and the Institute of Public Administration, Cairo, in co-operation with the Congress for Cultural Freedom. *Shri A.D. Gorwala* and *Shri L.P. Singh*, I.C.S., Member-Secretary, Pay Commission, Government of India, were the two participants from India.

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In the U.K., the Government has approved increases in salary ranging from £200 to £1,000 a year, back-dated to February 1, 1959, for civil servants in the higher ranks, as recommended by the Standing Advisory Committee on the Pay of the Higher Civil Service, under the chairmanship of *Lord Coleraine*. The Committee had followed the guidance given by the Royal Commission that the Civil Service should not set the pace for the salaries of senior staffs; the increases, it authoritatively explained, merely meant a catching-up on salary movements in industry and commerce. The main changes, in regard to the Administrative and Executive Class, are as follows :

<i>Administrative</i>	<i>Current (London) Rates</i>	<i>New Rates</i>
Permanent Secretary to Treasury	7,000*	8,700
	6,500**	7,500
Permanent Secretary	6,000	7,000
Deputy Secretary	4,250	5,000
Under Secretary	3,400	3,800
Assistant Secretary	2,200-2,700	2,400-3,000
<i>Executive</i>		
Heads of Major Establishments (broadbanded)	2,700-3,400	3,000-3,800
Principal Executive Officer	2,400	2,700

*Royal Commission recommendation.

**If two posts (as at present).

In *Canada*, the Civil Service Commission, headed by *Mr. A.D.P. Heeney*, has, in a recent report, recommended reorganization of the Civil Service. The two basic changes proposed are : (i) the consolidation into one civil service, within a reasonable length of time, of more than 20 semi-independent Crown Corporations, boards, bureaus, commissions, and other agencies, and (ii) "systematic discussion" with employee organizations, giving civil servants greater participation in determining the conditions of their employment, and particularly with regard to pay. Other important recommendations made include : the Civil Service Act should establish the criteria upon which the Commission would base its recommendations, which would include pay-levels that are fair and reasonable, and high enough to attract personnel and keep them, that are comparable with those paid in private employment for comparable work, and that maintain the proper relationship between pay for various classes; more authority and freedom to individual departments in determining internal organization and staff requirements; periodic investigations and reports by the Commission on the organization of all departments for use by the Government in assaying the efficiency

and economy of operations of the Civil Service as a whole; the Commission to make available to the Government and to individual departments, on request, its management consultant service; a fair and uniform code of discipline established by the Commission to set common standards of service and conduct, with department heads and their subordi-

nate officers responsible for applying them but with a "broadened base" for appeals; dismissal to be effected by the Commission on recommendation of the department head; and a revised appeals set-up to provide for appeals to be heard by the Commission or by appeals boards established by it.



INSTITUTE NEWS

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the General Body of the *Institute* was held on April 25 at New Delhi. *Shri Jawaharlal Nehru* was unanimously re-elected President of the *Institute* for the year 1959-60. M/s S. Vaidyanath Aiyar & Co., Chartered Accountants, were reappointed Honorary Auditors of the *Institute* for the year 1959.

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The Executive Council, at its thirty-first meeting, held on April 26, re-elected *Shri G.B. Pant*, *Dr. G.S. Mahajani*, *Shri Shri Ram* and *Dr. H.N. Kunzru*, as Vice-Presidents of the *Institute* for a period of two years. It also elected *Shri K. Kamaraj*, Chief Minister of Madras, as Vice-President for a period of two years.

The Council further re-elected *Shri V.T. Krishnamachari* as its Chairman; re-elected *Shri N.V. Gadgil* and *Shri L.P. Singh*, as members of the Council, for a period of one year; and co-opted *Shri M.V. Rangachari*, as a member. The Council reappointed *Shri L.P. Singh*, and appointed *Shri M.V. Rangachari*, as members of its Standing Committee.

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Under the I.I.P.A. Essay Competition, 1958, as recommended by a committee of three judges, the second prize of Rs. 500/- was jointly awarded to (1) *Dr. Amba Prasad*, Reader in History, Department of African Studies, University of Delhi; and (2) *Dr. Iqbal Narain*, Lecturer in Political Science, Rajasthan College, Jaipur.

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A preliminary Conference of the representatives of State Governments and the Planning Commission was held at the *Institute*, on April 5, to work out details regarding the nature and duration of the proposed Short-term Course in Planning. It suggested that the first Course of three to four weeks' duration should be organised in August next.

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Dr. Norman Wengert, Professor of Government, University of Maryland, U.S.A., delivered a course of three lectures on 'The Administration of Natural Resources' from April 29 to May 1. Another series of three lectures on 'The American Public Service' were given by *Prof. Phillips Bradley*, Head, Department of American History and Institutions, Indian School of International Studies, from May 4 to 6. Other lectures delivered included: 'The U.N. and Training for Public Administration' by *Mr. F.J. Tickner*, C.B.E., Deputy Director, Office of Public Administration, United Nations, on April 8, and 'Administration—Then and Now' by *Dr. John Matthai*, on April 9.

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The *Institute's* School of Public Administration closed for the summer vacation on May 9; it will reopen on July 13. The second session of the course for the Master's Diploma in Public Administration at the School will commence on July 13.

DIGEST OF REPORTS

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE, 1958-59, 38th Report—Ministry of Transport and Communications (Department of Transport)—Eastern Shipping Corporation Ltd. and Western Shipping Corporation (P) Ltd., New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, April 1959, vii, 117p., Rs. 1.50.

The important observations and recommendations of the Committee are given below :

(A) Organizational Matters

1. It took three years to set up the first Corporation and nine years to set up the second; and the proposal to set up the third Corporation has, for the present, been shelved. The delay in setting up the Shipping Corporations has been a major factor in retarding the development of shipping in the public sector.

2. The Committee is not quite convinced of the desirability of having two separate Corporations for operating the small fleet that they own at present. The feasibility of amalgamating the two Corporations may, therefore, be considered.

3. (i) It is not necessary to restrict the choice for manning the Boards to the same category of business as they are required to administer. (ii) The decision of Government not to appoint non-officials on the Boards of Directors on the ground of their having no stake in the business is not convincing. For that matter, the officials appointed on the Boards also do not have any stake in the concerns which they are required to administer. What is required is to secure the best talent and experience for the management of public enterprises in the interest of the nation as a whole.

4. While officials would definitely be of use to Government under-

takings, the present practice of making appointment of officers, who are also entrusted with other departmental duties and are fully occupied with them, with a view to giving representation to Ministries or Departments concerned, is not sound. The question may be reviewed in a comprehensive manner and a suitable pattern of organisation devised for the management of Government commercial undertakings.

5. Considering that the proposals and problems, coming up from the Corporations, for consideration of Government, should be examined objectively by persons who are not directly connected therewith, the Director-General of Shipping should be dissociated from the Chairmanship and Directorship of the Corporations.

6. There are many misconceptions with regard to the nature of responsibility attaching to Government in relation to the public undertakings and the nature and extent of checks and controls that have to and can be exercised over them by Government. The whole question may be reviewed comprehensively and a sound and well-defined relationship established between the companies and the Government.

7. The question of the proper location of the headquarters of the Eastern Shipping Corporation might be reviewed with particular reference to the future pattern of its operations. The economics of having branch offices *vis-a-vis* the agencies

at various ports may be worked out from time to time, keeping in view the trend of trade earnings and expenses; and if there are prospects of securing a larger amount of business, the desirability of setting up branch offices in those places may be considered.

(B) Personnel

1. The Committee is not happy that in a commercial public undertaking there should be an elaborate hierarchical system of organization. The organizational set-up of the Eastern Shipping Corporation might be reviewed and reoriented on a scientific and rational basis. The strength of staff aboard the various vessels may also be reviewed and where possible uniformity introduced; and unnecessary staff, if any, be eliminated.

2. There is no adequate justification for the existence of the Commercial Adviser's Secretariat in the Eastern Shipping Corporation. The necessity of maintaining the Secretariat may be reviewed. There is also no adequate justification for the existence of the post of an Operations Manager to co-ordinate between the Marine Superintendent and the Engineering Superintendent; the desirability of abolishing this post might be considered.

3. (i) There exist diverse conditions of service personnel recruited from various sources, in the Eastern Shipping Corporation. Such a state of affairs is not conducive to harmony amongst the staff members. The inordinate delay that has occurred on the part of the Corporation in framing its own conditions of service for its employees is deplorable; these should be finalized expeditiously, regard being had to the introduction of uniformity amongst all sections of staff. (ii) The scales of pay sanctioned for various posts in the

Corporation may be reviewed and rationalized in the light of the duties and responsibilities attaching thereto.

4. There is no valid justification for officers discharging similar duties in different public undertakings being governed by different scales of pay. The Government might review the scales of pay, obtaining in all its undertakings and revise them with the object of introducing uniformity where possible.

5. With the implementation of the recommendation contained in the Thirty-Ninth Report (First Lok Sabha) of the Estimates Committee regarding the creation of a separate Public Service Commission for all the undertakings in the public sector, the allegations about undue influence being brought to be borne on the selection of officers etc. could be avoided; meanwhile the constitution of the Industrial Management Pool which is intended to provide the senior executive personnel for all the State undertakings is welcomed. The Pool may be enlarged, if considered necessary, in order that as many supervisory personnel as may be required by the public undertakings are drawn therefrom.

6. A suggestion was made to the Committee that in order to tone up the administration of public undertakings an annual declaration of the relatives of Ministers, Directors, Members of Parliament, Members of Planning Commission, or officers of Government who are employed in such Corporations and who may be drawing a remuneration exceeding Rs. 500 a month, may be given in the annual report of the respective undertakings. In the Indian Companies Act also there is a provision for getting the prior sanction of the Company in case of appointment of a relative of a Director. The Committee considers that there should be no objection to extending the

principle underlying the provision of the Indian Companies Act for getting the prior sanction of the authorities in cases of appointment of relatives of a Director to other cases mentioned above; prior to the appointment of such a person the matter should be brought to the notice of the Ministry concerned and its consent obtained. Appointments of such persons should also be mentioned in the Annual Report of the Corporation for the year.

(C) Finance and Accounts

1. In view of the fact that many of the State undertakings are not yielding profits and might not also be in a position to yield profits due to some of them assuming a social service character, there should be a separate organisation to evaluate the working of such undertakings independently of profit consideration. The organisation to be set up in respect of such undertakings should not be of an *ad hoc* nature but should be able to undertake examination of each undertaking periodically.

2. The Eastern Shipping Corporation may work out the most efficient rate of turnover by comparison with the rates of turnover of other companies in India and abroad, determine the defect, if any, in its investment or organisation and take suitable steps to rectify it. A shipping expert might be appointed to examine the working of the Corporation and to advise on the changes required to improve its results.

3. The Eastern Shipping Corporation should introduce the system of review of operational costs and be constantly on the lookout for effecting economies in expenditure. It might also consider the desirability of setting up a Cost Accounting Unit to work out the estimates and cost of each voyage, to evolve a practicable operational coefficient to judge

the working of each vessel, and to indicate the points where economies or other improvements would be possible.

(D) Other Matters

1. The policy of Government in relation to the Shipping Corporations is expressed in negative terms and lacks a positive approach; it should be redefined in a positive manner.

2. With the economic development of the country and consequent expansion of commerce and trade, the requirements of shipping have gone up since 1947. The requirements of shipping may be reviewed in the light of the present trends and the objectives of the Shipping policy re-stated on a realistic basis. It is hoped that the planners of the Third Five Year Plan will, considering the importance of shipping for the national economy and its present inadequacy, give development of shipping higher priority than hitherto and greater allocation of resources in order that the objectives of the Shipping Policy might be attained within a reasonable time.

3. The Government might consider the possibility of making some readjustment in the allocation of funds under the Second Plan and allot additional funds for acquisition of ships.

4. (i) Although the State Trading Corporation and the Eastern Shipping Corporation are both Government undertakings, there is no co-ordination between the two Corporations, with the result that while negotiating the agreement with Japan the State Trading Corporation overlooked the interests of the Eastern Shipping Corporation. In future, effective steps should be taken to ensure better co-ordination amongst the various State undertakings.
- (ii) The machinery of the Shipping

Co-ordination Committee might be made a more effective instrument for securing co-ordination among different shipping interests.

REPORT ON INDIA'S FOOD CRISIS AND STEPS TO MEET IT; *By The Agricultural Production Team (sponsored by the Ford Foundation),* New Delhi, Government of India (Ministry of Food and Agriculture), April 1959, 254p., 0.75nP.

A Team of American agricultural specialists, headed by Dr. Sherman E. Johnson, Chief Economist, Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, visited India early this year, at the request of the Union Ministries of Food and Agriculture and Community Development and Co-operation and, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation, to look into the problem of agricultural production. Its main findings and recommendations, which may be of interest to the readers of this *Journal*, are as follows :

I. THE DIMENSIONS OF THE FOOD PROBLEM

1. A Third Plan target of 110 million tons of food grains by 1965-66 is reasonable, in view of India's rapidly rising population. Eighty million more people, or a total population of about 480 millions, are expected by the end of the Third Plan. If India's food production increases no faster than present rates, the gap between supplies and target will be 28 million tons by 1965-66. This will be about 25 per cent shortfall in terms of need. No conceivable programme of imports or rationing can meet a crisis of this magnitude. A 110-million-ton target, however, can be realized only if an all-out emergency food production programme is undertaken. Food production must be given the highest priority. The unemployed and underemployed in the villages represent a waste of resources that should be used to produce more food. Moreover,

about 45 million of the 80 million increase in population will be rural people. The Team recommends that a public works programme be instituted for projects requiring primarily hand labour, such as contour bunding, land leveling, surface drainage, irrigation wells and tanks. Such work will contribute directly to increasing food production, provide income for needy people, and will not be inflationary.

2. Good planning is meaningless without adequate execution of the plans that are made. "Business as usual" will not achieve the food production targets. The steps necessary to mobilize the nation for action must be clearly outlined.

II. ORGANIZING TO MEET THE FOOD CRISIS

1. Extraordinary organizational and administrative measures and actions are required to mobilize the nation to meet the challenge of producing food enough to meet minimum requirements of a rapidly growing population.

2. (i) The crisis in food requires action at the highest levels of Government. But there must be follow-through at all levels. Legislative as well as administrative branches of Government must be aware of the urgency of the situation. Decisions which are binding on all Ministries of Government and on all levels of Government, and which are supported by political leaders, must be made. (ii) Power must be granted to set priorities among activities, to

reallocate and reassign personnel, to redefine programme content and emphasis, and to require co-ordination and collaboration among Government agencies to simplify administrative, fiscal and other procedures as necessary to win the battle of food production. (iii) There are undoubtedly several ways in which these administrative problems might be handled. One might be to increase the responsibility and authority of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and to hold this Ministry solely accountable for meeting the crisis. Another might be to revitalize and broaden the powers and functions of existing cabinet committees dealing with this subject. Mere paper organization will not do the job. Advisory committees, consultative and co-ordinative bodies, or discussion groups are not enough. Far-reaching, centralized authority with a clear line of command and execution, alone can meet the challenge of growing more food.

3. The urgency of the problem and the need for clear-cut organizational adjustments to meet it must be understood at the State level. Appropriate changes, redirecting efforts at district, block, and village level, must also occur. At the district level, for example, an officer with the status of the collector, having a knowledge of agriculture and fully cognizant of the seriousness of the food crisis, should be given responsibility and authority to direct and implement policies and programmes for increasing food production. He should have full authority, supported by decisions at the State level, to reshape block programmes as needed to attain the best use of block resources in meeting food production goals.

4. At each level, agencies and officers should be given well-defined, manageable and inescapable responsibility with full authority to

discharge that responsibility. They should be judged by their initiative, their ability to push through the programme, and by their concrete accomplishments in increasing food production.

5. The specific assurances required by the cultivator as incentives for increased production are: (1) A guaranteed minimum price publicized in advance of the planting season; (2) A market that is ready to accept his crops at the floor price at the time he wants to sell; (3) Availability of this market within bullock-cart hauling distance; and (4) Suitable local storage for the portion of the crops which he does not wish to sell at harvest time.

6. The major need for price stabilization is a systematic and continuous effort to maintain food grain prices at the desired level. This can be accomplished only by a permanent agency which can formulate price policy and implement this policy with the required action.

III. IMPROVING EXTENSION WORK THROUGH COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

(a) Extension Programmes

1. Extension programmes in India can have a much greater impact upon food production and this is necessary for the nation's survival. Extension programmes can be improved by focussing them more directly upon local conditions, upon village production problems and production potentials, and by having village farmers participate more actively in programme determinations, including setting the priority order of programme action. This process in itself leads to mental growth and development of leadership in village people.

2. Block extension workers should set up village food production

committees through which the local farm people, assisted by block extension personnel and V.L.W.s, first, can assess the present production and optimum productive capacities of village farms, and, second, determine the combinations of improved farming methods necessary to achieve expanded production. Where the village has a panchayat, the food committee could act as a sub-committee of the panchayat.

3. Extension programmes in India have not given sufficient concern to the factors of human motivation. Food production objectives and programmes to achieve them must be related to the group that ultimately increases food production, the cultivators themselves. Unless the behaviour of this group can be changed, unless they can effectively be motivated to take steps which will increase production on their fields, no extension educational programme can succeed. Special extension programme emphasis should be given to the important contribution that farm women and youth can make in village community efforts to step up food production.

4. Many new practices are being recommended for adoption. However, the relatively high number of cultivators who revert from new practices back to the old traditional ways is an indication that some of the basic criteria of the learning-acting process are being violated. Caution should be exercised in making recommendations for any improved practice uniformly over large areas without adequate regard for their appropriateness for local farming conditions. Targets composed of improved practice quotas handed down to the blocks and villages from national and State levels should be abandoned. The use of targets should be confined to national and State requirements for key food crops and be used by the village cultivators as

guides in setting their own food production goals, in consultation with local extension workers.

(b) *Extension Organization and Administration*

1. The community development organization from the Centre to the blocks should focus its extension programme more fully on increased food production. The emergency nature of the present food situation requires much more than issuing directives that the V.L.W.s should spend 75 to 80 per cent of their time on agricultural production. The top priority programme objective of community development in the foreseeable future must be to marshal the educational force and drive that will stimulate village cultivators to produce more food.

2. Improvement programmes should be tailored to fit the conditions faced by individual cultivators, village by village, block by block and area by area. It is obviously impossible for agricultural workers to give individual assistance to all the cultivators in India, but a uniform, blanket approach should be avoided. A nation-wide improvement programme should be developed which will concentrate on the combination of practices that are most likely to increase food production quickly in the different areas.

3. The basic idea of a block "team" of a group of officers having special areas of responsibility and functioning under the leadership of the Block Development Officer (B.D.O.) is sound. But the multi-purpose nature and function of the block makes for both strength and weakness. Strength is found in the integrated approach to progress at the block and village levels. Weakness is found in attempting to be all things to the village people, and in possible deficiencies in staff relationships

and organization. Perhaps the most disturbing weakness at present is the extent to which rigid and distinct status barriers between the V.L.W.s and block staff members and between the B.D.O. and members of his staff tend to prevent effective communication and to negate the far-reaching idea of the team approach.

4. Additional block agricultural personnel with specialized technical competence to handle local farming problems, such as irrigation, soil conservation, farm management and home science, are needed; and more intensive technical and extension methods training must be given to all present block staffs as rapidly as possible. Adjustments in block budgets are also called for. Training programmes for additional specialized agricultural officers must be stepped up to permit more adequate staffing as rapidly as possible. As competent personnel become available for such staffing, they should first be assigned to those areas and blocks where the combination of water, soil, and other resources indicate that food production increases will be greatest.

5. Immediate steps must be taken at the Centre, State and District levels to strengthen extension work. Unless the block staff are adequately supported by a core of agricultural subject-matter specialists up the line—specialists who are continuously in touch with current research developments—the local staffs cannot be expected to carry on successful extension programmes to increase crop yields by modern farming methods.

6. At the Centre, some of the nation's most competent agricultural technicians and scientists—in such fields as rice and other cereal crop production, irrigation, plant protection, soil fertility, animal husbandry,

farm management and agricultural economics—must be recruited to give broad, general leadership to State extension specialists. The men selected must be capable of commanding the complete respect of their opposite numbers in research. At State and District levels men of similar qualifications are needed to give leadership and direction to the men in blocks and villages.

7. The approximately 2,000 "shadow" blocks (that is, the blocks not yet under the community development programme) should receive at least a minimum of extension educational assistance.

8. The concept of the block staff is that of specialists under the general guidance of the B.D.O. but receiving technical information from departmental district officers. The staff's principal function is described as providing assistance to the multi-purpose V.L.W. The perception, which the block officers have of their own role, suggests that they are more "action-oriented" than educationally minded. The block staff on the whole is an aggregation of workers in separate areas of work rather than a team focussing on problems.

The following changes in assignments of officers at the block level should be made :

- (1) Village Level Workers : Relieve the Gram Sevak of service tasks, such as handling farm supplies, loan collections, etc., as rapidly as these jobs can be assigned to other persons. Direct more of the activities of the Gram Sevikas to teaching improved agricultural practices to farm women.
- (2) Agricultural Officer : Relieve him of service responsibilities such as seed, fertilizer, and insecticide handling, assigning

this to co-operatives and to the Co-operative Officer.

- (3) Animal Husbandry Officer : Reorient his work toward food production, for example, giving greater emphasis to poultry production, where applicable, and greater emphasis to forage utilization and controlled grazing.
- (4) Social Education Officer (Man) : Assign him as a staff officer to assist the B.D.O. and other block officers in organizing facilities and in preparing visual materials and other teaching aids with particular reference to agricultural production, and to assist the V.L.W. in organization, method demonstrations, etc.
- (5) Co-operative Officer : Encourage him to take greater responsibility for developing an understanding of the purpose, objectives and opportunities of co-operatives and aiding in their organization. Make him responsible for the supply functions such as seed and fertilizer currently usually handled by the agricultural officer.
- (6) Other Officers : The work of the engineer, panchayat officer, and woman social education organizer should be redirected, to the extent possible, to educational activities and development programmes contributing directly to greater food production.

9. State Departments of agriculture should provide adequate agricultural information services to help extend information on improved practices through mass communication media, such as radio, newspapers, and pamphlets, and by visual teaching devices—movies, filmstrips,

posters, and so on. Information services can support the work of local extension personnel by making farmers more aware of better farming methods, and by providing the local workers visual and other teaching aids.

10. Conditions contributing to rapid personnel turnover, such as low salaries, job insecurity and limited opportunities for advancement, should be remedied. This is particularly a matter of concern with respect to V.L.W.s, but would also improve the quality of work done by extension personnel up the line. A part of these personnel problems can be solved by staff supervision oriented to worker counsel and guidance and to general personnel development rather than to inspection, order-giving and control. Administrative steps must also be taken to correct the more crucial problems of job insecurity and low morale resulting from insufficient opportunities for advancement.

11. With respect to block budgets and accounting and auditing procedures, greater budget flexibility from block to block is needed. Budgets should reflect priorities set by the local people and the block staff. Accounting and credit inspectors need a better understanding of extension programme objectives. Rigidities and complex paper controls place the local extension workers in "strait jackets" and consume time that should be devoted to the business of aiding farmers to produce more food.

12. The reports required of extension workers should be simplified, and consist of periodic descriptive statements of extension programme achievements, with expanding food production as the central theme. The present detailed reports of V.L.W.s and block extension officers appear to give more

emphasis to mechanical paper control than to assessing programme results.

13. To mobilize the manpower of State-level personnel concerned with food production programmes fully, each State should convene a working conference of community development and appropriate technical department officers and specialists for the purpose of : (a) assessing and outlining the jobs to be done to aid local extension workers and village cultivators to produce more food, and (b) fixing the specific responsibilities of each department for carrying out the plans. Each such State conference should be followed by a series of District conferences in which all appropriate District personnel, official and non-official, would meet to appraise the food production potential of their respective Districts and determine and assign responsibilities for jobs to be done to support block staff extension programmes with technicians, teaching equipment, materials and demonstration supplies.

(c) *Extension Methods*

1. India's extension education programme can be much more effective if agricultural extension workers at all levels develop more of the skills for conducting an effective educational programme. To achieve this, they must have a better understanding of human relations generally and of : (a) the social-psychological make-up of the cultivator, (b) the mental processes of the cultivator in learning and acting, and (c) the cultivator in his social setting in the village.

2. Competent instructors in extension education should be secured or trained for the extension training centres, and a more comprehensive and practical work-training syllabus, including content and

methods of teaching, should be developed.

3. A critical analysis should be made in the field of extension methods now being used and of any others that may be valuable to determine how extension programmes in action may most effectively persuade the village farmers to adopt farming improvements.

IV. PROGRAMME RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

1. To strengthen research, particularly on food production problems, will require resources, and competent staff from many disciplines. The resources now available in the Programme Evaluation Organization and other research groups should be more sharply focussed on evaluating programmes that are directly related to food production.

2. (i) Staff of research organizations should include competent people from such fields as social-psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, statistics, economics, political science and public administration. People competent in areas specifically involved in any programme being studied should be included in the research programme. (ii) Any members of the research programme, whatever their field, must have *research competence*. This assumes that, in addition to knowing their own field, they have some knowledge of statistics, and, equally important, an understanding of rigorous research methodology. For instance, there appears to be only limited use of experimental design in the research to date. (iii) Most studies make only limited use of controls. The setting up of theoretical frameworks, with more precise concept definitions, would make it possible to do more rigorous research. There is always the temptation to collect some data on many

things rather than to limit data collection mainly to those things that fit into a conceptual framework where interrelations can be controlled and tested. There could be more use of statistical techniques in the analysis. The generalizing of apparent differences without statistical tests, especially from small samples, is dangerous.

3. (i) Each State should explore the possibility of setting up a small programme research unit to work on problems and programmes of special importance to the individual States. (ii) There is need for precise statements of goals and procedures for the various programmes and sub-phases of programmes. (iii) The programme research and evaluation people should be brought into the planning process of action programmes at an early stage. (iv) There should be greater emphasis on the study of the attitudinal factors involved in programme planning and execution. (v) There should be increased efforts placed on "process" studies. Unless a rather intensive study is made of the actual ongoing operation of the experimental programme and its efficiency, it is difficult to know just what to try to duplicate when the programme is applied to other areas. (vi) There should be more effective use made of the case study method. Many of the case studies made thus far appear to be more descriptive than analytical. The analytical side of this type of research will have to receive greater emphasis if the studies are to live up to their potential. (vii) Additional attention should be given to

input-output relations. (viii) Research and action people should be aware of the problem of "feedback" in experimental research. In some cases it may be desirable to "feed" research data gathered in an ongoing programme to the action people as a basis for making decisions as the programme progresses. (ix) There should be a clear understanding of the role of "ideal" experiments. The term "ideal" is used in the sense of carrying out a project with all of the needed resources under the best possible conditions.

4. There is need for more research on administrative structure. There seems to be general agreement that the major problems in India lie not so much in basic idea or philosophy of the programmes but in implementation. Though some beginning studies have been made of the job of the V.L.W. and other officers, there has been little done that could be called an intensive analysis of the roles of any specific worker. Equally important is the study of the interrelation of roles and communication patterns at a given level, for example the block officers or district officers. Also of importance is the study of vertical relationships. Studying the flow of specific directives and action programmes through the structure should also be significant. Of special importance at this time would be a study of the relation of extension, teaching and research, and of the possibilities of integrating these three functions to make the greatest impact on food production.

BOOK REVIEWS

OF MATTERS ADMINISTRATIVE; By A.D. GORWALA, Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1958, vi, 162p., Rs. 3.

This publication reproduces thirty-six essays by Shri A.D. Gorwala which have appeared in newspapers or journals between 1951-58.

The author is a seasoned administrator with a distinguished record of service. His recent report on the Mysore administration, which was undertaken at the instance of the Mysore Government, has attracted a good deal of public attention. On matters administrative he can claim to speak with authority. His views are entitled to be treated with respect.

In the presentation of his views, the author deliberately abandons the habit of moderation and understatement, which, after long years of service, should become second nature to the civil servant. Instead, he adopts the style and manner of the politician. Shri Gorwala feels, not without reason, that the civil servant is being wrongly criticized, is being given little credit for what he has done and can do, is not being made use of as he should be and, generally, is suffering from a sense of frustration. As service traditions prevent him from making any public statement in self-defence or self-justification, Shri Gorwala has taken up the cudgels on his behalf and he does so without inhibition.

It is hardly practicable, nor is it desirable, to enter into any detailed discussion of the views so forcefully expressed on matters controversial. It is necessary to preserve perspective and proportion. For this the political background and the fundamental change in the posi-

tion of the civil servant needs to be borne in mind.

The political party in power, the Congress, under the guidance and inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, has a mighty achievement to its credit, viz., the gaining of independence. For the Indian people this is no less than what Winston Churchill did for the British in World War II. The Indian public are therefore grateful and tolerant, though, of course, too much reliance should not be placed on this as Winston Churchill discovered before the Second World War ended. Another important political fact is that the civil service from being part of a foreign-controlled bureaucracy at loggerheads with the Congress is now serving in a democracy under the Congress.

If the above political background is kept in mind, much of what is happening in regard to administration and the civil service is seen in clearer light. But this does not mean that what is happening is right. Shri Gorwala and his *bete noire*, the politician, who passes all the blame to the civil servant, are agreed that the guiding motive of sound administration should be the public interest. But what is the public interest in a democracy? On many important matters there is a divergence of opinion as to what constitutes the public interest. When opinions differ, who is to decide? As Professor Howard R. Smith of Georgia University in a recent publication* aptly puts it: "The public interest in a democracy

* *Government and Business*, New York, Ronald Press Co.

is not wanted because it is the public interest, it is rather the public interest because it is wanted." Policies democratically accepted, *i.e.*, policies decided upon on the basis of some kind of a majority-rule device in accordance with the constitution, must be regarded as the public interest. The civil servant has to give effect to such a policy with strictest loyalty. But the civil servant is not worth his salt if he assumes the purely negative role of ascertaining a democratic decision and giving effect to it blindly. A democratic decision is neither infallible nor irrevocable. Further, in administration care has to be taken that, while the decision is obeyed, both in letter and spirit, the maximum public good and the minimum public harm ensue. The public needs, and expects, guidance, specially in a new democracy. In the long run a wrong policy, though democratically adopted, becomes self-defeating. The public is grateful for enlightenment and an adopted policy can be rectified by the same democratic process. It is the duty and the responsibility of a Minister to see that, through democratic process, wrong or harmful policies are not adopted. The civil service is the indispensable tool to help the Minister to discharge this responsibility.

Before independence the tool was the master, but now it is definitely the servant. The Cabinet can mould it as it wills, but it must do so with firm decision assuming full responsibility for what it does. If the existing civil services are found wanting, there is nothing to prevent the Cabinet resorting to *ad hoc* recruitment from outside to ensure successful fruition of its policies. A Minister who throws blame on the civil servants for his own failure is like the proverbial bad carpenter who always blames his tools. Shri Gorbala is on sound ground when he

argues that for the deterioration in administration, for proliferation and Parkinson's law in the Secretariat, for poor results after much publicity, for delays in arriving at decisions, and in replying to correspondence, the Minister in charge must accept full responsibility. If he wills and is firm in what he wills, he can stop the rot effectively and quickly. A sound administration needs firmness, not pinpricks.

In view of the great political change in the country, the civil servant should also realize that the method which yielded good results in pre-independence days cannot be continued without careful discrimination. If the public were to dislike a particular policy or a particular procedure, it would be neither wise nor right to carry on as if the public did not count. The silent strong civilian who carried out what he conceived to be his duty with "enlightened ruthlessness" is likely to prove a failure in the India of today unless he can make the necessary adjustments to carry the public with him. Nostalgic references to what the civil service was able to achieve in "the good old days" serve no useful purpose. This is a defect of outlook from which the author seems to suffer, though on many points his views are sound. He fails to appreciate that the role of the civil servant has changed substantially. For instance the "sartorial circular", which comes in for pungent criticism is, not so ridiculous as the author tries to make out. If the Cabinet felt that the foreign style of dress adopted by the civil servant under British rule is to the public a symbol of bureaucratic aloofness, it was within its rights to suggest a change which it considered appropriate. "The buttoned-up short coat reminiscent of the Indian princes and Stalin" involved the minimum break from the past. It is no

more ridiculous than the short coat or the black tail-coat and white tie which the Indian civilian adopted under the previous regime. Where there is already much legitimate criticism, it is a pity that a mountain is made of this molehill.

The attack which some politicians are so fond of making on the civil

servant and Shri Gorwala's reaction to such attacks are the thesis and anti-thesis representing the extreme swing of the pendulum in opposite directions. What is required is a synthesis for sincere collaboration between the Minister and the civil servant without which sound administration is impossible.

—S. Lall

LEADERSHIP IN ADMINISTRATION—A Sociological Interpretation; By PHILIP SELZNICK, Illinois and New York, Row, Peterson & Co., 1957, xii, 162p., \$4.00.

The book follows the current trends in organisational theory which emphasise the data and concepts of psychology and sociology, taking into account the 'non-rational', personal and group factors, including the emotional and the sub-conscious.

Administrative organisation is distinguished from an 'institution'. The outstanding features of the former are stated to be its formal system of rules and objectives wherein, tasks, powers and procedures are set out according to some officially approved pattern. It is an exercise in engineering and is governed by related ideals of rationality and discipline. This, according to the author, never completely explains the behaviour of the participating staff whose personality, problems and interests create the 'informal' structure. The 'institution' is described as "more nearly a natural product of social ends and pressures—responsive, adoptive organisation."

The organisation becomes an 'institution' when the participants become attached to it "as persons rather than technicians", i.e., when organisation has changed from "an expendable tool into a valuable source of personal satisfaction". "This involves the taking on of

values, ways of acting and believing that are deemed important for their own sake. From then on, besides self-maintenance, there is a struggle to preserve the uniqueness of the group in the face of new problems and altered circumstances."

In large organisations, this process of 'institutionalisation' assumes an important significance. They must, therefore, be considered in the same manner as natural communities which they greatly resemble in their historical growth and pattern of behaviour. Such organisations draw added meaning from the psychological and social functions they perform. According to the author, in large scale organisations, the administration consists not only of 'formal' efficient management, but also of exercise of executive statesmanship, the basic characteristic of 'institutional leadership', whose main function is "the task of promoting, developing and practising special values and building a distinctive competence into the organisation." The 'formal' organisation concerns itself with, what the author describes, as 'routine' decisions, pertaining to the solution of day-to-day problems of organisation and efficiency, while leadership must make 'critical' decisions which are

defined by him as those that affect institutional key values. Such decisions relate to policy and vitally affect the development of the institution. There will, however, be certain aspects of 'administration' as distinguished from 'policy' which influence the building of key values of the institution. The author refers to some of these, such as the recruitment and training of personnel, the formation and co-ordination of internal groups etc. They must receive the attention of the true institutional leader whose duty is "to choose key values and to create a social structure that embodies them."

Prof. Selznick then proceeds to elaborate this theory of institutional leadership, its true nature, task and quality on the basis of this sociological and psychological approach. In the light of this examination of growth and development of institutions, the author assigns to an institutional leader the following three-fold tasks :—(i) the definition of institutional mission and role; (ii) the institutional embodiment of purpose, and (iii) the defence of institutional integrity. In regard to the first task, the leader "must specify and recast the general aims of his organisation so as to adapt them, without serious corruption, to the requirements of institutional survival." Prof. Selznick, however, recognises the difficulties in laying down the aims and mission of an organisation at the start and the danger in the institution becoming unduly rigid if this is prematurely attempted. In this connection, he emphasises that the true commitments of an organisation are not unchanging and they must be reassessed continuously.

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While discussing the second task of an institutional leader, the author

refers briefly to the historical growth of an "institutional" organisation and the typical developmental problems which need critical policy decisions. Some of the important problems may be briefly referred here.

The selection of the social base : Questions such as the choice of clientele or market to be served by the organisation would determine personnel recruitment, personnel training, public relations and other allied matters. While this factor may play a significant part in private commercial concerns, it may be doubted whether much importance attaches to it in the case of ordinary Government departments, particularly in India, where the Government has accepted the goal of socialistic pattern of society. However, in the case of specialised organisations, especially those dealing with social uplift and rural developmental activities, the class of society from which the personnel is recruited and the type of bias given to it, would influence the success of the mission.

Building the institutional core : In this connection, stress is placed on the need for creating an initial homogeneous staff which will ultimately give a direction and stability to the organisation.

Formalisation of structure and procedure : This is a necessary process in the development of an organisation. It is a stage with which administrators are familiar. In this context, the author refers to the place of decentralisation of powers and functions in the historical growth of an organisation and emphasises the need for achievement of "social homogeneity" before decentralisation is effected. Decentralisation thus "requires a preparatory period of training in which leadership has the opportunity to influence deeply the ideas that guide decision-making

at lower levels". This influence may take the form of "indoctrination", or the object may, preferably, be achieved by "collaborative development of plans and policies." It, therefore, follows that, initially, there must be a considerable degree of centralisation when cohesion is built up before decentralisation of functions is effected.

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While discussing the historical development of organisations, the author indicates a problem, namely, "to discover the characteristic ways in which types of institutions respond to types of circumstances" which is worth detailed research and study by students of public administration. An interesting aspect of administration, which Prof. Selznick has emphasised, is the "creation and protection of elites." 'Elites' are, according to the author, essential for the stability of an organisation and should be given sufficient 'autonomy' to enable them to preserve and develop the values and integrity of the organisation. The problem of forming, training and maintaining 'elites' is, therefore, an essential task of leadership, particularly in organisations which are charged with maintenance and propagation of "precarious" values. In this connection, Prof. Selznick throws useful light on the manner in which this aspect of administration is affected by the nature of supervision and control—centralised control or 'dual supervision'—and the relationship between the headquarters and field organisations in respect of specialist activities.

The role of an institutional leader is elaborated in the context of the historical growth and behaviour of large-scale organisations and their problems. It is the role of a statesman who deals with problems with political sagacity, effecting compro-

mises, where necessary, without sacrificing the essential value of the organisation. Such a leader defines the mission of the organisation and gives it the appropriate shape in order to fulfil its purpose. The approach of the author towards the problems of administration and administrative organisations is thus largely social and psychological. His treatment of the theme specifically excludes the familiar question of the leader's personal traits or capacities required, upon which, according to Simon, Smithburg and Thompson, in their book "Public Administration", depends the degree of his influence within and outside the organisation. Nor does he deal with the details of the manner in which a leader functions; the relationship between him and his subordinates and other allied questions which are discussed at length in various books on public administration and management, such as in "Organisation and Management" by Seckler-Hudson, "Notes on the Government Executive; His Role and His Methods" etc.

In fact, throughout his book the main theme of Prof. Selznick is that at higher levels in large organisations, the logic of efficiency fails and a new logic emerges—the logic of institutionalisation. "As this occurs, *organisation management* becomes *institutional leadership*." Such leadership transcends the logic of efficiency and goes beyond 'engineered technical arrangement of building blocks.' This approach, however, seems to take a somewhat narrow view of the organisation techniques and methods. Once the purpose and mission of an organisation is defined and certain 'critical decisions' taken, the structure of the organisation can take account of these factors. An assumption that an efficiency or organisation expert necessarily views the matters from limited and preconceived

'building-blocks' standpoint and is incapable of a broader approach would be hardly justified. No doubt the author admits that "where organisation is in good shape from engineering standpoint, it is easier to put ideals into practice", but on the whole throughout the book he appears to overstress the importance of the social structure as against considerations of efficiency and organisation. Even if we accept the thesis of Prof. Selznick that "the study of institutions is in some ways comparable to the clinical study of personality" it would be unwise for a psychologist or sociologist to ignore the physical body of the patient or the structure of the organisation. In fact, according to the author a statesman-administrator may be called upon to make about two or three significant decisions a year; for the rest he must, no doubt, concentrate on the day-to-day activities and the smooth functioning of the organisation.

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The theory of leadership propounded in the book is, probably, more fitted to large-scale business and industrial organisations, as also to organisations imbued with social or political aims. Therefore, the purposes and objectives are susceptible of clearer definition and organisations can be moulded accordingly. Leadership in such cases has a more positive and purposeful role to perform, particularly in the initial stages, or in the times of crises. In the case of Governmental organisations, particularly in India, it would, however, be difficult to state in precise and specific terms the mission and the purpose of the organisation and the administration has perforce to be more impersonal. This is not to say that the quality of statesmanship is not necessary in

such cases; but, in addition, the leader has to be a seasoned administrator, looking not only to the needs of the organisation as an institution, but also to its efficiency. It is fortunate, too, that in the pattern of democracy obtaining in India, the external pressure groups do not exercise the same type of influence as they probably do in America and the problem of maintenance and protection of institutional integrity does not assume the same importance.

In making these observations there is no intention to minimise the value of Prof. Selznick's contribution in presenting his thesis. It is obvious that he has thought deeply on the various facets of public administration, especially from sociological point of view. The book bears the stamp of originality and is illustrated with instructive examples of the functioning of the armed services, T.V.A., large industrial organisations and political parties in America. The author, rightly, disclaims any pretensions to offer solutions to immediate problems of leadership in administration. His main task, as he puts it is: "to explore the meanings of institutional leadership, in the hope of contributing to our understanding of large-scale organisations." He wishes to provide "guides to the diagnosis of administrative troubles and to suggest that the posture of statesmanship may well be appropriate for many executives who have a narrower view and more limited aspirations." He seems to have discharged his selected task well. The book makes, at places, a somewhat heavy reading, being loaded with technical phraseology, but senior executives and serious students of public administration would read it with interest and with profit.

—K. P. Mathrani

THE CITY; By MAX WEBER, tr. and ed. by DON MARTINDALE AND GERTRUD NEUWIRTH, Illinois, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1958, 242p., \$4.00.

The progress of civilisation during the last few centuries has given a peculiar impetus to urbanisation and the city has come to occupy a special place in human affairs. No wonder, therefore, that more and more attention is being paid to it by sociologists and planners. Yet, even though human beings have been familiar with the man-made organism; it is not possible to define it precisely. Weber has attempted to study and explore the history of the city with a view to arriving at acceptable conclusions as to its genesis and *raison d'être*. He takes us through centuries of history and almost the entire world to present an accurate and coherent picture of the city during its evolution through the ages and one cannot but marvel at his scholarship.

The city, though an ancient institution, is not as old as man is and therein lies the answer to its future. It grew round religious institutions of importance or market-places. Its origin was thus basically functional and Weber's illustrations make this abundantly clear. Human beings in their onward march built cities (and often also deserted them as they did not subserve their needs or failed to perform the functions expected of them), the ever-changing range of human activities and methods of living continually affected the nature of the city and gave new dimensions to it. Its character, however, did not change radically as much as the human being did not change in spite of rapid environmental changes.

Weber has been at pains, as it were, to develop a theory of the city (presumably as contradistinguished from any other settlement) and has tried to analyse its essential attributes, at least in so far as the genesis

goes. According to him an essential component was the presence of a city fortification and a city army. Among other qualities, it should have a market, a court and a certain degree of autonomy. As a historical assessment, his definition stands the test very well as these denominators were common to all cities of ancient times. Modern civilisation and technological advancement has, however, given a new shape to the city and already they are growing around industrial nuclei. It is more than evident, therefore, that basically the city arises out of a search for what may be called environmental convenience among a group of human beings and so long as inequalities of convenience between different places last, cities will arise and exist. A city which is functionally complete is the perfect city. As far as one can see a perfect city must remain only a dream.

However, Weber's researches are an important contribution to the study of the city as an urban organisation and he has gone to the far corners of the world to evaluate it. The evolution of the human being through various stages of social, political and economic development has been studied in great detail and a mass of information has been collected. The changes that have taken place from time to time in the characteristics of the city have been recorded with care and objectivity. But Weber's objective in going through all this labour was obviously not merely to present all available historical data. His theme is the establishment of the theory that the development of the city in Europe was a definite step forward in social progress and he maintains that political stability, Christianity and

industrial progress in their turn gave a unique value and position to the city. Not only that : such were the compulsions of these forces that the earlier cloistered family-settlements had to go. As cause and effect the thesis is acceptable. In fact, variants exist outside Europe. Cities in ancient India which grew as centres of trade, government, pilgrimage or education are well known. There is thus nothing very stirring about Weber's theory. After all, the initial settlement was like a nest—a breeding place, as it were; primitive and elementary activities took place here. With the growth of skill and needs, the field of activity had to increase and different groups found it necessary to converge at convenient points for the satisfaction of those needs. These points grew into cities in due course and naturally began to provide a standard of life at once more variegated and comfortable than in the first settlements. That, in all probability, was the real origin of the city and the market city, the religious centre, the seat of Government, the University town came in the order of the need of the community. A fortification, an army, a degree of autonomy and a set of local laws were mere instru-

ments in keeping the heterogeneous population together. The law of the family group was no longer applicable to this motley congregation. Common pursuits and fraternalisation made a community of this collection of people. The rest of the growth is easily comprehensible and the rapid strides that the city made towards becoming what it is today are all too well-known. It is difficult to accept that the city was the deliberate creation of man in an attempt towards self-expression or that it was a planned synthesis of known or foreseen values. It emerged slowly out of new needs and methods of living adopted for the fulfilment of those needs. That, in many cases, the city did flower into a live and pleasant organism cannot be denied and its contribution towards the emancipation of man was, indeed, very rich.

What the future holds is not known—technological progress is adding to the size and complexity of the city and yet who knows that this very factor may one day lead to the disintegration of the city. But that transformation would rather be a subject for poets today than for historians and sociologists.

—G. Mukharji

WORK SIMPLIFICATION; By ROBERT N. LEHRER, New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc., 1957, 394p., \$9.25.

The old concept that work simplification is applicable only to industrial and business organizations is no more valid, and it has found a useful place in governmental agencies. Work simplification is a common-sense, systematic method of identifying and analyzing work problems, developing solutions, and installing improvements. Its main objectives are simplification of procedures, cutting red-tape, better distribution and scheduling of work, and elimination of unnecessary reports and forms.

It embraces within its scope the simplification of both procedures and methods; and aims at the more effective use of manpower, equipment, materials and space.

During recent years a lot of literature has grown up on and around the subject of work simplification under varied titles like Motion and Time Study, Operation Analysis, Office Management, Procedural Analysis, Process Charting, Layout Planning Techniques, and Work Measurement

Apart from books, pamphlets, brochures and specialized papers, a liberal use has been made of films to illustrate and publicize work simplification methods. Much of this literature, however, deals with the techniques of work simplification, namely, work distribution, work count, flow process, motion economy and space layout.

Dissatisfied with the "common method of handling cost reduction, human relations and motion and time problems", the author departs from the pedestrian treatment of charting techniques and emphasizes "the dynamic and human aspects of a constructive approach." The book thus, is by no means an essay in explaining in detail the many techniques of work simplification. Even such conventional tools of work simplification as micromotion study and procedure analysis have not been included in this book, nothing to say of newer analysis tools like input and output analysis. The scope and purpose of the book are aptly indicated in the Foreword by M.E. Mundel reputed for his farm work simplification: "Dr. Lehrer has undertaken the much-needed task of reducing to a broad level of intelligibility the procedures designed to make human work more effective... Dr. Lehrer has attempted to explain the complexities of motion study in respect to everyday aspects of production work."

The two main concepts underlying the book are 'Creative Thinking' and 'Participational Work Simplification'. Creative Thinking implies giving a new and fresh look at work problems and suggesting new and better solutions both by the management and the workers. 'Participational Work Simplification' means participation of the workers in the improvement of their own jobs.

Here is something new for our work simplification programmes. The

need for generating ideas is perhaps nowhere greater than in our government offices. There is very little "creative thinking" on the part of public servants in India. Most of them are either afraid of taking initiative and sticking their necks out or do not like to appear ridiculous with new ideas. There is almost a premium on routine and mediocrity. The Central O & M Division, which is charged with initiating new methods and procedures of work, has so far taken only one step in this direction, namely, monthly meetings of the Directors of O & M in different government agencies under the chairmanship of its Director. These meetings, while beneficial, can hardly be a substitute for "brainstorming" and "free wheeling" sessions of all employees in different government units. As regards Participational Work Simplification the Special Reorganization Unit of the Finance Ministry has, in a limited measure, introduced this concept. Thus, this Unit's study for work simplification is always undertaken in collaboration with the persons who are engaged on the performance of the various jobs, and their active consent to the programme is deemed essential. Training in the fundamentals of work simplification is an important element in the participational work simplification programme. It is heartening to find that the S. R. U., in collaboration with the O & M Division, has set up a good and comprehensive training programme for persons drawn from several government agencies.

The book mainly deals with work simplification in business. It is true that the author has made full use of the experience of the U.S. Government in the field of work simplification and has included a chapter solely on such programmes. Nevertheless, the value of the book in the field of public administration is limited.

The book is written in simple, direct and pleasant style which makes it an easy reading. It is profusely illustrated with tables, charts, graphs, and pictures. The author has made full use of case studies in the business field. Copious references at the end of each chapter to books, brochures, pamphlets,

reports, case studies and films relating to work simplification also add to the value of the book. A good textbook on work simplification in general has long been overdue. Professor Lehrer's work simplification is a good bid to fill in this gap.

—A. Avasthi

BOOK NOTES

NOT IN OUR STARS; By A.D. GORWALA, Bombay, Jaico Publishing House, 1958, 303p., Rs. 3.

Here is a collection of sixty-two short articles, written with vigour and often with irony, which were published in some leading dailies during 1953-57. They contain comments and reflections on a wide range of contemporary problems—political, administrative, social and economic—seen through the eyes of an Indian critic, who—to quote his own words—being “disinterested and free can at least say what he thinks about some of the policies and actions of Government, make suggestions, give advice, urge warning, point out wrongs, call for redress, help in a sense, though by no means fully or effectively, to perform a few of the functions of the Indian Republic's loyal Opposition.”

Divided into two main parts—Internal Problems and Foreign Affairs—the book has, among others, critical sections on ‘Government and Democracy’ and ‘Big Business’. After reviewing the economic conditions of the country generally the author pleads for simplicity of living and avoidance of ostentation and grandeur in government and politics, and for a pragmatic approach to economic and social problems of the

day. There are five articles on China, one of which, dealing with Tibet, is of topical interest. Many of the author's views may not win assent, but the articles will not fail to entertain, and to provoke thought.

PILOT PROJECT, INDIA;—*The story of rural development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh*, By ALBERT MAYER & OTHERS, India, Oxford University Press, 1958, xxiv, 367p., Rs. 20.

Here is a comprehensive and stimulating but somewhat diffused account of the important phases of the growth and development of a Pilot Project in Rural Development which was launched at Etawah (U.P.) in late 1948, with a unit of sixty-five villages. During the next three years the Project ‘grew to include over three hundred villages of the same district, was reproduced at four other centres in Uttar Pradesh, and finally became a prototype for Community Development Projects and National Extension Service blocks in thousands of villages in every part of India’. The Project was planned and guided by Mr. Albert Mayer, (an eminent architect and town and rural planner from New York), in his capacity as the Planning and Development Adviser

to the Government of U.P. The book, which is rich with extracts of notes from Mr. Mayer's files and diary and full of case histories and case analyses, surveys the 'origins, preliminary study, administrative organisation (for rural development), a philosophy of shared and democratic planning, and the elements of a specific plan for Etawah',... 'the concept of felt needs and their satisfaction', 'the principle and practice of concentration' of efforts, 'the methods of realistic targeting and time-tabling', and ways of stimulating inner democratisation of development administration and village participation. The concepts, both of the multi-purpose worker at the village level and of an integrated scheme of all-round participation in developmental programmes, were originally conceived and developed in the Etawah project. 'The pioneer work that has been done there and the invaluable experience in rural reconstruction that has thus been gained have been in a large measure responsible for the scheme of Community Projects which figured so prominently in India's First Five-Year Plan and now forms a vital part of the Second Five-Year Plan'.

In addition, there are interesting chapters devoted to the consideration of results—physical and financial—'Research and Action' and 'Problems of Expansion'. The last section contains a note of caution against an 'over-speeded' programme of community development. 'On the whole the National Extension Service Projects are inadequate in systematic planning, thoroughness, and follow-up'..... 'The National Extension Service programmes or plans in the new projects involve, in my opinion, too many and varied items both for the capacity of our men at this initial stage and for the absorptive capacity of the village and

development of its inner readiness and leadership'. 'It is relatively easy to multiply the mechanics of the early prototypes, but not so easy to multiply and reproduce their inner content. And unfortunately it is easy to be unaware in the rush that one is doing the former at wonderful speeds at the expense of the latter.' Mr. Mayer feels that 'at least six or seven years of sustained work are needed for such results to mature in their full depth and extent'; that we should at once start equating the educational programme or syllabuses of our secondary schools, colleges, and universities to our field requirements'; and that 'India therefore might appoint a commission of observers and philosophers, trained and sensitive men and women of broad view and of differing backgrounds and outlook... to consider, in the light of India's situation and of such shaking events in the past as the industrial revolution, what kinds of ultimate courses they see ahead'. Mr. Mayer also advocates specialisation at the middle levels of development administration and lays special emphasis on the need for suitable and adequate training in development work and the development of right attitudes.

T V A—THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS; Ed. by ROSCOE C. MARTIN, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, and Tennessee, University of Tennessee Press, xiii, 282p., \$4.50.

The volume contains the edited version of lectures delivered by sixteen staff members of the T.V.A. at a course in public administration given by the Florida State University in the first half of 1953. Mr. Gordon R. Clapp, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, in the first introductory chapter, outlines some of the distinguishing features and workways of the T.V.A.

Part I describes 'Framework for Operation'. The chapters on 'Legal Foundations', 'Administrative Foundations', and 'Personnel Administration', outline the statutory obligations of the Authority; the evolution of its organisational pattern and the positive approach of the Authority to personnel problems. Part II of the book is concerned with 'Physical Development of the Valley' and Part III with 'Social and Economic Development'. In Part IV—'Some Broader Implications'—are contained interesting sections on 'T.V.A. in its Larger Setting' and 'Retrospect and Prospect', the last by Prof. Roscoe C. Martin.

CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION IN CANADA; By GORDON BLAKE, University of Toronto Press, 1957, x, 193p., 28s.

As an essay in tariff technology, the author traces the evolution and development of Canadian tariff administration, primarily as an economic institution, from the times of the French regime to the present day and also discusses the questions of 'The Tariff Schedule', 'Valuation', and 'Appraisement'. 'The Customs Establishment Since Confederation'—its organization and the problems of political patronage and morale and efficiency in the Canadian Customs Service—is examined in some detail in Chapter Ten. Emphasizing the existence, in Canada, of two distinct but closely connected enactments to deal with matters of "official tariff" and "legislative tariff", the study attempts to bring out the influence of both economic and administrative factors on the nature, form and content of tariff. The political and ideological problem has

been deliberately relegated to a minor position in the study and its influence has been noted only where it has indisputably affected the topic of discussion.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL THEORY; By H.R.G. GREAVES, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1958, 208p.

Viewing the state as one of the many human associations though possessed of coercive power unlike all the rest of them, the author analyses the sanction underlying the individual's obligations to the state in terms of the latter's purposes and functions which have a meaning in so far as they are directed to giving satisfactions to the persons comprising the system of co-operation the state represents. The foundations of the social morality are said to lie in the coincidence of personal moral ideas. As human purpose for each individual consists of the conscious direction of his life to accord with his ordered experience, the essence of democracy is to be found not in the sanctity of majority but in the conditions it creates and sustains for individual moral fulfilment. Political theory for Mr. Greaves starts, therefore, from facts of moral consciousness of the individual, emerging from the process of the integration of his individualistic and social needs as one entity, and extends to his rights and duties and to political institutions as conditions of 'self realization' for all individuals. The implication of such an approach to the political theory are essentially in the direction of the democratization of the internal administrative processes and structures.

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EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION— SOME CONTEMPORARY TRENDS*

Lynton K. Caldwell

WHENEVER men work together to achieve some common purpose, administration becomes necessary, for no other means has been discovered for co-ordinating co-operative human endeavour. Administration is thus the means by which human effort is organized and directed toward specified goals. And because administration implements decisions requiring the direction and control of group action, it implies government in the broad sense.

As generic social processes, government and administration occur in many different contexts (domestic, religious, economic, fraternal). Our concern here, however, is with the administrative process within the institutional framework of tradition, law, and policy that constitutes the governmental state. Our scope is thus less than all of government and less than all of administration, and is limited to the education and training of those persons to whom the administration of government is entrusted. Our focus is upon present efforts to increase the effectiveness for public service of those men and women who make up our public bureaucracies.

Government is the greatest collective effort in which man has engaged, and it is one of the principal institutional expressions of his civilization; its administration is the severest test of his capacity for social development. To be understood adequately, the administration of government must be viewed in relation to its role in the evolution of human society. Without appreciation of this larger relationship, it is difficult to understand the full significance of administration in the day-to-day affairs that are the life stream of government. This discussion

*Text of the lecture delivered at the I.I.P.A. on August 30, 1958.

of trends in education and training for public administration that follows should be read within this broad context.

THREE CONTEMPORARY TRENDS

The most pertinent and obvious fact relating to our topic is the tremendous responsibility that governmental bureaucracies have everywhere assumed for safeguarding and promoting the public welfare. Although political ideologies and governmental traditions and methods differ, the heavy responsibility of public bureaucracies is a universal circumstance. Accentuating this weight of responsibility is the inadequacy of nearly every governmental administrative system to deal effectively with the exigencies confronting it. This is true not only of newly established national governments in Asia and Africa, but in different ways is also true of older established governmental systems in Western Europe and the Americas. The quest for competence in the public service has stimulated efforts toward improving the quality of public officials through pre-service education and in-service training. Traditional preparation for public service careers has almost everywhere been called into question, as social science research has revealed new aspects of the administrative process that have called for new types of education and training.

Among the many innovations and developments in education and training for public administration during recent years there are three that may be identified as of exceptional significance. These trends have profoundly influenced political and administrative thought regarding the values that govern human relations and the capacity of human beings to co-operate voluntarily toward agreed common ends. Social trends are seldom clear-cut and precise. Those that we are about to discuss are not without exception. I shall therefore state them as attitudes which, though widely held and of growing influence, are not universally shared. In brief these trends are toward :

1. An understanding of administration as a universal social process, modified in practice by ethnological and technological factors;
2. An acceptance by government of responsibility for the development and training of men and women for public responsibilities; and
3. A growing sense of responsibility among public officials themselves for improving the quality, effectiveness and accountability of the public service.

I should now like to elaborate briefly upon these trends and to relate them to contemporary developments in education and training for public administration.

ADMINISTRATION AS A UNIVERSAL PROCESS

Administration is a unique human invention. It does not appear to have been developed by any other form of living organism, although highly complex social organization has emerged among the insects. The systematized co-operative activities of these so-called lower animal societies appear to be controlled by combinations of genetic and external physio-chemical stimuli in ways that we scarcely understand. The mainsprings of human co-operation may hardly be better understood. But the process of human co-operation has received a vast amount of study and we enjoy the advantage of being able to examine a process in which we are participants and of which we know something at firsthand.

The common denominator of administration is man himself. Human behaviour, although capable of astonishing variation, is not capable of *infinite* variation. Man is limited by his faculties. He can invest an almost endless variety of languages; but language, spoken and written, remains an indispensable means for his communications. Simple forms of co-operative behaviour may in some measure be co-ordinated by non-verbal communication, but administered co-operation involves the transmission of ideas, concepts, questions and commands that require the use of language. From one viewpoint, indeed, administration may be described as a systematized process of communication. The universality of the administrative process arises therefore out of the universality of human mental processes and most notably out of man's common and limited means for communicating complex ideas.

Had the study of administration grown initially out of studies in human psychology and sociology, the generic character of the administrative process would surely have received earlier recognition. But the study of *public* administration, at least, grew out of studies in the law, history and political economy of respective countries. The focus of attention was upon national rather than universal characteristics; for example, upon French administration or British or American. In addition, administration as a general process was seldom studied, even in the narrowly national context, outside of Western European and American societies. Some notable treatises on administrative conduct are to be found in the older literatures of India, China, and of

the Islamic world, but in the main they are of a didactic and hortatory character and do not greatly advance our knowledge of administration as a generic social process.

It seems probable that the generic character of the process of administration, like that of eating or sleeping, always was tacitly assumed. But because the focus of scholars was upon specific applications rather than upon the process itself, this tacit assumption was of little practical consequence. Indeed, the systematic study of administration as a universal process really began less than a century ago. The initial impetus came from late nineteenth century studies in industrial organization and management, such as were undertaken by Henri Fayol in France and Frederick W. Taylor in the United States. In contrast to the study of public administration, thought on industrial management was not tied into particular systems of legal concepts and political institutions. It was international or perhaps more accurately non-national in character.

An important exception to the restricted scope of studies in public administration was the broader comparative approach taken by students of military organization and administration. In contrast to writings on civil administration, the literature of military administration commanded an international audience. Von Clausewitz and De Gaulle, for example, enjoyed an international reputation not matched by writers on civil administration. Military considerations prompt an interest among nations in each other's military establishments and theories; in civil administration there is no comparable spur to curiosity.

Another line of inquiry influencing the study of administration was that pursued by ethnologists and sociologists into social organization and social behaviour. Students of social organization characteristically were less bound by their own cultural milieu than were many political scientists whose first interest was frequently in the politics of their own societies. The sociologist studying a great variety of social institutions encountered analogies and contrasts among them that called for explanation. Comparative studies of social organization and behaviour produced findings that not only threw light on administrative behaviour but opened new lines of inquiry transcending political and cultural boundaries. Among the more promising of these new lines of inquiry (perhaps it should be described as several lines) are the behavioral studies of recent years in which much attention is given to psychological factors in group behaviour. The "group dynamics" line of inquiry is a particular phase of this more general development.

A third factor influencing the understanding of administration as a universal process has been the interchange of administrative ideas and experience growing out of international co-operative efforts following the second world war. After 1945, the establishment of international organizations with administrative functions occurred on a scale larger than theretofore. In these organizations the administrative experience and concepts of many nations had to be reconciled. For organizations like the United Nations, Unesco, the International Bank or the World Health Organization, administrative policies and methods were required that would be workable for an international staff serving in all parts of the world. That this could be done is in itself evidence of the universality of the administrative process.

An aspect of international co-operation that has made an especially significant contribution to our understanding of the administrative process has been multi-national and bi-national technical assistance. Through these programmes, particularly those supported by the United Nations, the United States and the Colombo Plan nations, more factual knowledge about administrative practices has been brought together systematically than at any previous time. Professional associations, such as the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, have assisted in the systematic analysis and publication of much of this data and have contributed to its further dissemination through international conferences, round-tables and seminars.

The effect of this growing recognition of the universality of the administrative process has been felt in education and training for public administration. Until about a decade ago the prevailing tendency in university teaching was to interpret "public administration" in strictly national terms. Although there was widespread interest in the identification of "principles" or "elements" of administration, textbooks written by Americans about public administration were primarily books about public administration in America rather than about public administration generically. The same practice prevailed in other countries until, following the second world war, a new trend became evident. The focus of the textbook writer may still be primarily upon the practice of administration in his own country, but horizons have been broadened. Greater sophistication is now shown in distinguishing particular administrative practices from the generic process.

Research and scholarly publication likewise evidence this trend. Interest in the comparative approach to administration has increased as a growing literature on public administration in various countries

provides substance for comparison and generalization. Comparative studies of public administration have been sponsored or promoted by, for example, the International Political Science Association, the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, and the International Union of Local Authorities. Comparative studies of special aspects of administration, including bibliographies, have been published by the United Nations Organization and by Unesco. At national levels, comparative studies are under way in many different universities and research institutions. In the United States, a committee on comparative administration of the American Society for Public Administration attempts to keep in touch with current activities and to stimulate research in unexplored areas. Particular interest has been shown recently in the development of models for the study of institutional change and for the comparative analysis of administrative behaviour. From these models it is hoped that a more valid factual foundation may be laid for subsequent generalization.

The actual content as well as emphasis in university teaching has thus been influenced by this trend. Moreover the effects are evident in the study of business administration as well as in public administration, although schools of business administration gave practical recognition to the universal character of administration at a relatively early date. Evidence of the trend in teaching may be found not only in the published sources cited above but also in the construction of the curriculum and emphasis on subject matter. Comparative materials are being drawn upon more heavily than heretofore and considerable attention has been given to comparative use of the case method. The American Inter-University Case Programme has now begun to assemble a collection of cases from abroad to complement the cases developed primarily out of American experience.

In the public service itself there is clearly a trend toward a broader comprehension of administration. This is evident in the executive development programmes that have become immensely popular in the United States. A quarter-century ago these programmes, treating administration as a generic social process, would have incurred much greater resistance and skepticism than they do today. At that time training for administration would have tended toward indoctrination in the policies, rules and organization of an official's own agency or business firm. The broader considerations of processes, relationships and environmental factors would have been generally viewed as "impractical" or "irrelevant."

It is perhaps too early to forecast the effect of this broadened approach to education and training in administration upon the actual

conduct of government. Nevertheless it seems almost certain that the pronounced changes of attitude that have occurred and are occurring will have a clearly discernible effect upon the public service in the course of the next quarter-century. In the United States, at least, there appears to be a growing contrast between the quality and effectiveness of public administration in the federal government and in the more progressive states and municipalities in which these trends have been widely felt and the more traditionally oriented states and municipalities in which substantial prejudice against a professionalized public service continues to exist and administrative responsibilities are generally narrowly conceived.

GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATIONAL PREPARATION
FOR PUBLIC SERVICE CAR RS

Governmental concern with the educational preparation of its future officers is hardly a new development, although it has been of uneven strength from country to country. Historical examples may be cited of special schools or courses of training established by governments to insure an adequate supply of competent public officials. The palace school established by the Ottoman Turkish Sultan, Muhammed II, illustrates one manner in which this governmental responsibility was recognized and discharged. The well-known Northcote-Trevelyan Report on the British Civil Service represents a different approach to governmental responsibility. The Turks undertook directly to select, train and appoint their public officials who were in actual fact slaves of the Sultan. The British, in contrast, left the actual educational preparation for public life to the individual. The personal qualities sought in the public service were to be secured through voluntary competitive examination, the standards for which would be fixed by the government itself through a Civil Service Commission. But whatever the way in which governmental concern for the quality of the public service was manifested, few governments assumed a direct, systematic and continuing responsibility for the education of prospective public officials.

The tremendous governmental changes following the second world war brought about an equally great change in governmental responsibility for the public service. Across Asia and Africa a host of newly independent nations merged, most of them lacking sufficient trained and experienced officials to carry on the public business relinquished by the retiring colonial regimes. Moreover, these new states were impatient to employ their newly-won freedom in programmes of economic and social development. Widespread social unrest and

political instability gave this movement toward national reconstruction an urgency that was also felt in older established states in Asia, Western Europe and South America.

One of the earliest and most dramatic indications of the new attitude in government toward education for the public service came from France with the establishment in 1945 of *Ecole Nationale d'Administration*. The war and the German occupation had severely shaken the French public service. Direct governmental responsibility for the preparatory training of future public administrative officials was believed necessary to insure an effective and reliable administrative corps.

In the United Kingdom a Select Committee of the House of Commons suggested in a report to the 1941-42 session that a civil service staff college might be required to provide a type of training for public service responsibilities that traditional British education for the administrative levels of public service did not seem to provide. During 1943-44 the question of a staff college was debated in Commons and studied by a special committee chaired by Ralph Assheton, M.P., Financial Secretary of the Treasury. The report of the Assheton Committee rejected the staff college proposal, urging instead an expanded and improved programme of in-service training. This course of action was followed by the government. But in 1946 a privately sponsored Administrative Staff College was established at Henley-on-Thames and has in some measure provided the type of educational experience suggested by the Select Committee. The Administrative Staff College moreover illustrates the generic approach to the administrative process. The junior officials who attend its sessions are drawn from business and labour as well as from government, and a small percentage has come from commonwealth and other countries abroad. The training at Henley is directed toward the type of responsibilities and relationships encountered at higher administrative levels rather than with the specifics of national administrative practice.

The Government of India has taken the most positive measures among commonwealth and indeed among Asian countries in providing educational and training facilities for the public service. Apart from several university public administration programmes, the responsibility of the government is being carried out through the Indian Administrative Service Training School at Delhi and the I.A.S. Staff College*

*Both of these and the Central Secretariat Training School have since been combined to form the National Academy of Public Administration.

at Simla, the Administrative Staff College at Hyderabad and through support of the activities of the Indian Institute of Public Administration.

In a large number of countries national institutions have been established for the education and training of public officials, sometimes also for research in public administration. The majority of these have come into existence during the past decade, often with assistance from outside the country; for example, from the United Nations, the United States, Colombo Plan nations or in some cases through private philanthropic foundations. Many of these agencies are called "institutes", but this term may not, as in India, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United Kingdom, connote a professional society. Rather the term corresponds more often to American or French usage implying a type of higher school or research centre that often is associated with a university. Countries in which governments have established or supported "institutes" for the specific purpose of training for the public service include in addition to India : Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Italy, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, South Vietnam, and Yugoslavia. This listing is representative rather than comprehensive. There are other countries that have established comparable schools or agencies for public service training. Perhaps the most unusual, as well as one of the more successful, has been the Central American Advanced School on Public Administration supported by five Central American republics with initial assistance from the United Nations.

In the United States of America the schools or institutes training specifically for careers in public administration are primarily state supported or are privately endowed. The federal government in the past has not directly aided or assisted general training for careers in public administration, although certain federal departments secured specific training legislation. Since 1958, comprehensive legislation that authorizes advanced training for persons already in the government service has been in effect. In the federal government and in the more progressive states, governmental responsibility for the training and development of administrative personnel is accepted without question. Some cities and a few counties, Los Angeles city and county, for example, have effective training programmes. For the most part, however, the states and municipalities look to the universities and professional associations to assume the tasks of preparatory education and job-related training. There is, however, an increasing tendency for governmental units to support these education and training efforts in a variety of ways.

An interesting example of co-operation between several different governmental and educational organizations for public service training is afforded by the Southern Regional Public Administration Training Programme. Since 1944 four southern state universities and governmental agencies have carried on a programme of graduate study and practical training. Students spend an academic semester at each of two of the co-operating schools, and a three months' internship in some practical aspect of administration is undertaken in a governmental office : state, local, federal, or regional. The routine work of the programme is administered by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama; academic direction is provided by a joint university-governmental committee representing the participating institutions. This co-operative plan provides for the maximum utilization of training resources, avoiding unnecessary duplication of effort in the co-operating states.

The foregoing examples illustrate the growing concern of government for the education and training of future as well as present public administrators. This trend seems certain to grow; the exigencies of societies upon government everywhere are such that increasing public administrative action to insure the adequacy of public service personnel as to numbers, quality and integrity appears to be inevitable.

PROFESSIONAL CONCERN OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS FOR THE QUALITY OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Professional associations of public officials have existed for many years. Until recently these organizations tended to be either of two kinds. The first were societies of specialists; for example, accountants, army officers, engineers, foresters, physicians, nurses, teachers, or law enforcement officers. The problems of their professional specialities have been the uniting bonds for groups of this type. The second, not always clearly distinguishable from the first, were unions, organized along various lines and with the welfare and status of their members their primary concern.

During the past quarter-century, however, a third type of organization of public officials has gained prominence. Its focus is neither on a particular occupational speciality nor primarily on public service salaries, privileges and working conditions. Instead its purpose is to strengthen and improve the public service through better understanding (a) of the forces that control public administration and (b) of the processes through which administration actually takes place.

Membership in these organizations, of which the American Society for Public Administration, the Indian Institute of Public Administration and the Royal Institute of Public Administration (United Kingdom) are examples, characteristically includes persons outside the government service who have special interest in public administration. Among such individuals are university professors (who may or may not be civil servants), management consultants, lawyers, legislators and retired officials. These societies tend toward neutrality in questions of political character; their focus is upon improvement of the public service as a means to a more effective government.

One of the principal means to a more effective government is the educational development of the public servant. It is therefore not surprising that public administration societies have almost uniformly encouraged in-service training, have taken great interest in educational preparation for the public service and have, as is notably the case in India, actually sponsored and conducted training programmes. Although few societies have moved as directly into educational and training activities as has the Indian Institute of Public Administration, actual training programmes, usually of short-term duration, have been undertaken by the Royal Institute of Public Administration in the United Kingdom and by the American Society for Public Administration in the United States.

An important contribution to improvement of the public service is research and publication pertaining to public service needs and problems. The Royal Institute of Public Administration, in particular, has published or sponsored various monographs and pamphlets relative to the public service. Journals are published by all principal societies and the following is a partial list of those printed in English.

Administration—Institute of Public Administration of Ireland
Canadian Public Administration—Institute of Public Administration of Canada

Indian Journal of Public Administration—Indian Institute of Public Administration

New Zealand Journal of Public Administration—New Zealand Institute of Public Administration

Philippine Journal of Public Administration—Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines (not published by a professional society, but serving the needs of such groups as the Philippine Society for Public Administration)

Public Administration (Australia)—Australian Regional Groups of the Royal Institute of Public Administration

Public Administration (United Kingdom)—Royal Institute of Public Administration

Public Administration Review—American Society for Public Administration.

CONCLUSION

There are many ways of classifying trends of the sort that we have been discussing. There are moreover other trends that have not been touched upon in this discourse. Among these would be (1) the growing influence of behavioral studies on administrative theory, training and practice, in addition to their impact upon the generalizing approach to administration, (2) the increasing *rapprochement* between universities and governmental agencies in setting standards of achievement for both pre-service and in-service training, (3) the growing disposition to view the education of the public administrator as indefinitely unfinished business in the sense that his education and training must be a continuing, career-long process, (4) the effect of nationalization of industries and the growth of state enterprises upon public administration training, and (5) the growing difficulty in many countries in reconciling the need for national security and economic stability with freedom of public employee groups to engage in organized political action. But the trends upon which we have dwelt at greater length are those that have seemed most significant, at least from the vantage point of the present.

To summarize then, the most important contemporary trends affecting the education and training of public administrators seem to be :

1. General and explicit recognition of the universality of the administrative process;
2. Governmental acceptance of responsibility for the development of the administrative corps of the public service; and
3. Development of a sense of responsibility among public officials for improvement of the quality of the public service.

Should these trends continue and appreciably influence administrative developments in government, it seems likely that during the

next half-century mankind will be governed more proficiently and with a greater sense of responsibility than has ever been evident before. Under inhumane or unwise political leadership this heightened effectiveness, were it merely technical, might indeed be harmful. There is, however, hope that the quality of political government may generally improve, in part, as a consequence of public services that are better able to provide the competent and informed staff assistance and execution upon which political leadership in this age must so largely depend.

The increasing dependence of governmental decisions upon technical and administrative expertise does, however, raise the very serious question of the extent to which the career public service is guardian and servant of public values. It is a commonplace of government that public officials do support certain values as against others. Conflict among administrative agencies frequently arises from incompatibilities among their value commitments. In open and culturally heterogeneous societies it becomes very difficult to identify many values that are generally held throughout the total community. The search for consensus in democratic governments is usually considered to be the special task of the politician. But political party doctrine and commitment often severely limit the capacity of political leaders to obtain general agreement. Moreover, diversity itself may be an important value in the political community. As the scope of governmental activities grows, affecting ever more intimately the lives of people everywhere, the moral responsibility of the public administrator becomes an ever more pressing subject of query and concern. If we were to forecast major trends in education and training for public administration in the future, it seems inevitable that one of them would have to do with this very fundamental aspect of public service.

"The capitalist thinks that bureaucracy is a bad word, but the socialist likes it. The socialist thinks that enterprise is a dangerous word, but the capitalist supports it. And both are wrong. It is the best in bureaucracy combined with the best in enterprise that equals institutional vitality and a dynamic economy."

—MARSHALL E. DIMOCK
(in "*Administrative Vitality*")

A FUNDAMENTAL APPROACH TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME* (II)

Iqbal Narain

IMPLICATIONS IN TERMS OF PLANNING

Having analysed the concept of rural community development, let us turn to a study of its implications in terms of planning. The field of planning is so vast that one can only venture a study of some fundamental considerations (which have a distinctly administrative bias) in the context of the objectives already set forth.

As far as the under-developed countries go, the Government has to sponsor the rural community development programme and determine its broad pattern on a democratic basis.²³ Its need is obvious enough. First, the area of backwardness to be covered in under-developed countries is so vast and the problems of development so multifarious and complex that a national programme at governmental level alone can meet the challenge. Voluntary public agencies can neither be forthcoming in such large numbers as to cope with the situation, nor do they have the resources to rise to the occasion. Systematic planning of their activities with a due sense of priorities and co-ordination is equally difficult. Secondly, under-developed countries, by and large, have been under foreign domination and

*It is the second instalment of the text of an essay which won a second prize in the IIPA Essay Competition, 1958, jointly with "A Short Study in the Theory and Practice of Public Corporation in a Democracy" (by Dr. Amba Prasad). The first instalment appeared in the last issue (for April-June 1959).—Ed.

23. Cf. The observation of the U.N. Mission Report, "The problem in the Philippines is to capitalize on the public interest now being shown and integrate the various approaches into a national programme. Even if their work is co-ordinated, voluntary agencies are unlikely of themselves to be adequate in resources to the task, such approach under a separate agency as has been made in India and Ceylon would be necessary with adequate alteration to the strengthening of government organization and services, training of personnel and promotion of village organizations. Voluntary agencies might then provide valuable collaboration... We believe that the contribution on any scale of community programme to economic and social progress requires that they may be undertaken by government" (*Vide: Report of the Mission on Community Organisation and Development in South and Southeast Asia*, United Nations, December 1953, pp. 12-13.)

their people, therefore, do not have the self-confidence, initiative, vision, public-spiritedness and up and doing outlook of a free and democratic people to plan for themselves. They can only move ahead with government-motivated self-help to self-motivated self-help. The Government, however, must take into consideration the following points while sponsoring the programme and determining its broad framework :

(i) They must begin with clearly defined objectives. If the objectives of the programme are ill-defined, planning shall be unscientific and its administration confused and defective.

(ii) The objectives as well as the planning of its broad framework should be realistic and practical on the one hand and flexible on the other. The programme must be a people's programme and embody their aspirations and long-felt needs and that too with a *democratic sense of priorities*. The democratic sense of priorities should be a synthesis of what the Government with the advice of experts and in the context of its vision of national reconstruction takes to be a priority and what the people by their experience and on the score of their long-felt needs take to be a priority. For some time till the people are educated enough to develop a correct perspective of priorities and are enthused about the programme of rural development to stand by it in the right earnest, the Government should not mind compromising their sense of priority with the people's sense of priority.²⁴ The crux of the rural community development programme, as we have already noted in the study of the objectives, is the people's participation in it. If the plan aims at meeting those needs of the people which they take to be prior, it will enthuse them and mobilize them into action almost voluntarily. Not only this, the Government should plan modestly. They should take into consideration the limits of national resources and people's resources so that the plan may not have to undergo a cut and rephrasing as it frustrates people and damps their enthusiasm and nothing is more suicidal for a rural community development programme than frustration in the people and damping of their enthusiasm.

24. Cf. Phillips Ruopp, *Approaches to Community Development : A Symposium Introductory to Problems and Methods of Village Welfare in Under-developed Areas*, W. Van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague, Bandung, 1953, p.17 : "If the people of an Illinois Village think of community in terms of the exclusive solidarity of established residents as opposed to newcomers or strangers and of development simply as the acquisition of a cinema or a 'supermart', I cannot tell them that what they are interested in is not community development. I can only suggest indirectly that these words have other connotations which are preferable. (To me personally community development may be associated with certain provisional spiritual absolutes by which I judge any specific example; to my hypothetical Illinois villagers it has other associations; to African villagers it may have associations that differ sharply from both mine and those of my compatriots.)

The Government, if their plans are to be both realistic and practical, should have a keen sense of the time factor. They should not be in a hurry. The programme of the development of the rural community owing to its *multi-purpose* character and the large area of backwardness to be covered in all walks of life has to be slow and long-spread. No government can have the lamp of Alladin and work a miracle overnight. If hurriedly brought about, the development will not be of a quality which will endure. It will only be superficial and will involve waste, both of human energy and material. The administration shall find itself forced with a mad race for targets against time. It will try to meet them superficially and on paper, neither taking the people with it, nor inspiring them for self-help. The objectives of the rural community development programme, on the contrary, demand that the Government should give a proper lead to the people and thus inspire them to take the lead themselves. They should insist upon qualitative aspects of development and lasting results so that one government-stimulated step may mean such tangible and concrete good to the people as to inspire them to take up many self-stimulated steps. The Government should never forget that the ultimate and real objective of the rural community development programme is not government-motivated self-help but self-motivated self-help and for that the programme must yield concrete results in the life of the people. The emphasis on the time factor should not be treated as a plea for halting, tardy, and delayed development. The under-developed countries have already waited too long and they cannot and should not wait that long any more. What is essential is that the Governments should follow the golden mean and be neither too slow nor too quick. Again, realistic planning would mean planning keeping in view the setting of the country in general, and the area which is sought to be developed in particular. The rural community development programme has to be a people's programme and as such it should be in tune with their local setting; it should suit their genius, resources, outlook, traditions, and cultural moorings. The programme should not appear to be imported or having a foreign stamp; it should be their own; of the people and for the people. If an outlook, a tradition or some cultural or religious practice needs a change, it should not be affected coercively as if with a jerk and startling suddenness which will shake the people's faith in the programme. It should be brought about with education and persuasion. The ideal here should be not a resolution from without but a resolution from within—a spontaneous and well-considered change by the people in their own way of life. Such a change would be natural and hence lasting. Above all, the planning should be flexible and should leave enough elbow-room freedom to the administrator on the spot and the people's representatives to fill

in details and thus adjust the plan to local needs, resources and aspirations of the people. In under-developed countries, by and large, the Government can fix up certain common objectives keeping in view its overall development plan for the country to form the plank of rural community development programmes; yet these objectives have to be tuned and trimmed in response to the change in the local emphasis on priorities which is bound to be there in vast countries like India or Africa, where the rural communities in spite of certain underlying common features, still differ and differ widely from each other. In fact the planning of the rural community development programme should follow the pattern of *decentralized planning*, the broad objectives and framework being determined at the top governmental levels more by way of a policy statement than an operative plan, and details and priorities being determined at the local levels by the people through their representatives and the local administrator. The flexibility of planning alone can make it popular and enable the administrator to execute it successfully with the thus-evoked enthusiasm and support of the people; this alone will make the plan realistic and enable it to evolve from within in terms of immediate objectives within the broad framework of the governmental policy and in terms of vitality that comes with people's support and enthusiasm. That flexibility of planning will make it democratic and develop initiative and sense of responsibility both in the people and the local administrators. What is most important, it will make the plan dynamic, which will not treat the people as a static leviathan but as changing and progressing demos and which will change and grow as the people do. It will not be out of place here to mention what the Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service has to say in this regard in the context of the Indian scene :

“During our visits to various blocks we repeatedly heard complaints that the fixation of targets had been arbitrary and unrealistic. In most cases, we found these arbitrary and unrealistic. In most cases, we found these targets had been prescribed by the district level or the block level officers without consulting the local representatives of the people. We can hardly over-emphasize people's role in planning and executing the community development programme. The broad objectives, the general pattern and the measure of financial, technical and supervisory assistance available have got to be worked out by the States; but it is for the people's representatives assisted by the development staff to work out and execute the details of the plan. The

fixation of targets should, therefore, be the joint responsibility of the States on the one hand and the local representative institutions on the other. The responsibility has to be clearly defined...²⁵

(iii) As emphasized above, the need is that the plan of rural community development programme should be in tune with the setting of the people and the area which is being developed or it should have an essentially rural bias. The need postulates a careful, close and overall study of the country where a programme of rural community development is to be started. The first logical step for the government of a country pledged to the ideal of rural community development should, therefore, be to establish a *Bureau of Rural Statistics* to collect reliable data for an essentially realistic and practical planning. Planning without statistics would become deductive and may share all the disadvantages of a Platonic utopia. Planning with trustworthy statistics in hand is essentially empirical; it is based on facts, observation and experience and is, therefore, realistic in approach and practical in operation. It has to be emphasized, however, that the *Bureau of Rural Statistics* should not merely study the resources of the area, its social, economic and political set-up and its unmet wants in all walks of life in order of their priorities but also the people themselves, their outlook on life and problems, their sense of general awareness, communal solidarity and social responsibility, their customs and traditions, religious, caste or class affiliations and above all their mental make-up in terms of hostility, indifference or response to the idea of change, initiative, hard work and co-operative endeavour. Perhaps nowhere is the aid of psychology more indispensable to an administrator for his success than in the operation of the rural community development programme because the objective here is not to inflict a change on the people but to make them realize the importance of the change, create in them a liking and love for it and thus make them demand and have it for themselves by their own initiative and effort. One need not repeat that the programme is "designed to promote better living for whole community with the active participation and, if possible, on the initiative of the community; but if this initiative is not forthcoming by the same use of technique for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response".²⁶ The objective here set forth needs a psychological handling of the village people by the administrator and, therefore, he should

25. *Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service, Committee on Plan Projects*, p. 24.

26. *Community Development Programme in India, Pakistan and Philippines*, 1955, p. 8. (Quoted in the *Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service*, op. cit., p. 1)

be abreast of the psychological background of the people before he could handle them psychologically. Hence the need of the collection of the *psychological data* of the rural community by the *Bureau of Rural Statistics*. Further, the Bureau should have an essentially rural approach in the study of rural psychology. It would be better to recruit an *ad hoc* team of educated young men and women from the area itself to help the research officers of the Bureau to make a realistic study. The presence of the local people in the team of the *Bureau* investigators will give a local colour to its findings which will not be handicapped by the inhibition of the villagers, cultural barriers and ignorance of the language of the area under study.

(iv) The idea of flexible planning emphasized above has its logical corollary in *flexible budgeting*. The Government should plan the budget of the programme in a way so as to assign lump-sum grants on scheme basis, leaving enough freedom for allotment of money on each item at the local level, enabling the plan thereby to adjust and respond to variations in priorities. "Schematic budgets for community development imply allocations of priorities and, therefore, the consequent variation in the emphasis and in the allocation of resources to different regions and different blocks. One uniform and inflexible budget for the entire country is obviously unsuitable and unrealistic."²⁷ Of course this right to allotment will not be absolute, it will be subject to supervisory revision at the higher level, particularly in the initial stages till the local bodies learn to stand on their own feet. Here again the process of supervisory revision as well as of intimating the legislative sanction should be simple and expeditious as the time factor means much in the development of the rural communities, particularly in under-developed countries, which have to grapple with the uncontrollable vagaries of weather. Take, for example, India,

27. *Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service, op. cit., p.24.*

Talking specifically in the Indian context, the Report continues "Even within a state it may be necessary to have perhaps more than one such schematic budget. It would, therefore, be useful if the schematic budget is drawn up by each state in consultation with the centre, and the central Ministries would be able to assist each state with the information and knowledge of what is being done in other states. The broad distribution of the budget provision into cost of establishment, contingencies (recurring and non-recurring), grants-in-aid and loans should be prescribed by the Centre and within this pattern the state should work out its schematic budget. At the district level and the block level, the local representative organisations, advisory at present and statutory in future, should work out the details of the local priorities and phasing within the framework thus prescribed. That the overall targets, prescribed after mutual consultations at different levels, should be achieved, that the provision for loans should not be converted into grants-in-aid or other outright expenditure, that the provision for grants-in-aid should not be converted into loans and that re-allocation and re-appropriation should be subject to the approval by the next higher body, would be both the guiding principles, and the main restrictions on the discretion of such local organisations." (*Ibid.*, p.24)

where "a serious cause for dislocation of work and consequent wastage is the delay in the issue of financial sanctions. In states which receive the south-west monsoon, these sanctions, especially for new works, reach the persons in charge of its execution well after the commencement of monsoon, thereby holding up field work in the dry summer months ; even in the areas which receive north-east monsoon, these months are similarly wasted."²⁸

(v) While planning for the rural community development, the twin ideals should be a *multi-purpose approach* and an *integrated project*. The *multi-purpose approach* has already been explained at length in the study of the objectives. A word about *integrated project* will not be out of place here. The idea involved in an *integrated approach* is that all the schemes of rural development should be knit together to form an integrated process to avoid duplication, overlapping and running of the several schemes at crosspurposes exhausting and baffling the people to breaking point.²⁹

(vi) Another problem that worries a planner of the rural community development is whether the programme should be planned as a *continued process* or *phased process* like that of India which has at present a pre-intensive, intensive and post-intensive stage. One is likely to vote in favour of the former. Development is a continuous process and in the long run a continuous and steady tempo of development with balanced and judicious spread-over of resources is likely to yield more enduring and qualitatively better results and exercise healthier influence on the psychology of the people than fluctuating fits of tempo. In fact the phased programme is not suited to the objectives of the rural community development programme. In a phased programme the time factor to switch over to another phase would become more important than the ideals of a lasting *multi-purpose* development with a *multi-focussed* and *multi-processed approach*. There would develop a 'Time-is-up' mentality in administration and they would not bother to know whether in this mad race for a

28. *Ibid.*, p.25.

29. A similar observation has been made by the Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service, in the Indian context: "Apart from the special allotment under the community development programme, there may be other schemes sponsored by different departments and financed either wholly from out of state funds or partly out of state funds and partly from local contributions or out of loans provided by the Government or lastly, solely out of funds of local bodies. All these should be integrated together with corresponding allotments at the appropriate level not only because the schemes are interrelated and cannot be considered in isolation but also because they effect and depend upon the participation by some group of people. The plan frame for the general development of the state should thus be broken down to the district and block level and integrated with the plan for community development. It would further be advisable if the Panchayat Samiti or the Block Advisory Committee arranges for the break-up of this integrated plan into smaller units, Gram Sevaks' circle, villages and lower down to families." (*Vide : Report, op. cit.*, pp. 24-25).

development programme, which is soon going to be time-barred; people themselves could learn to change and stand on their own feet. The administration may be obsessed with the idea of phases and may fix unreal targets. It may even develop an unhealthy psychology. In the initial stages it may have '*What is the hurry*' attitude, banking on the intensive stage to do the miracle. It may hurry through development with a contemptuous indifference to its quality and impact on the people during the intensive stage. It may again revert to restful inactivity in the post-intensive stage. It may not have a healthy influence even on the psychology of the people. The intensive stage may give them a false hope that they would reach the El Dorado after the intensive stage of work is over. If their hopes turn out to be false, the result would be disillusionment and frustration. This is more likely in under-developed countries where so much *leeway* is to be made up that the intensive stage of work cannot have spectacular results. Thus the very purpose of the *phased programme* which is to rouse the people to initiative and activity by way of shock tactics by some spectacular results through an intensive stage in the process of rural development is likely to be defeated.

Further, in under-developed countries it is difficult to fix or keep up the time schedule owing to *psychological barriers* which express themselves in the form of people's inertia, apathy, and inactivity and *practical barriers*, such as the magnitude of the problem of development and comparative poverty of resources. In these regions in particular and in rural community all the world over what is needed is to rouse people to the ideal of continuous application and not to fitful activity, if the stupendous task of rural community development is to be successfully undertaken. Further, a *phased programme* would mean poor financial resources in the initial and post-intensive stages and abundance of finance during the intensive stage; the former would handicap progress and the latter would encourage extravagance. In a word, *phased planning* would thus reduce the rural community development programme to a melodrama of starts and stops, of inertia relapsing into fitful activity and reverting back to inactivity with a sense of disillusionment and frustration and of temporary spells of satiety of resources, haunted by the ghost of poverty on the one end and the fear of starvation on the other. One can best close the study of this issue with the observations of the Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service, which has vehemently criticized the *phased planning* in India in these words :

"At present, the community development programme falls into three phases commonly described as the N.E.S. stage,

the intensive development stage and the post-intensive stage. We do not consider this division necessary, useful or convenient. The N.E.S. is basically a staffing pattern for extension services. The assumption that after a few years this staffing pattern takes a block to a stage where intensive development is possible and later on to another stage when the intensity of development can be relaxed, does not seem to be justified. As a matter of fact, *we found that the 'post-intensive development' blocks presented a picture of inactivity and frustration. Community development is a continuing programme which needs active planning and provision of funds. The present system under which heavy amounts are available over a short period, preceded and followed by periods of inadequate resources, leads to twofold waste and frustration on account of non-availability of resources during the pre-intensive and post-intensive stages and availability of easy money in the intensive stage with a hurry to spend it before the close of the period.*³⁰

(vii) Another intriguing problem that faces the planner of a rural community development programme is how to enlist the people's participation in the planning of the programme. Should he do so through *ad hoc* bodies nominated by the Government or through local bodies popularly elected and hence duly representative of the people? The latter alternative is preferable. The ultimate objective of community development, as has been emphasized time and again, is not merely the material advancement of the villagers but their democratization or helping them to stand on their own feet. As observed by Shri Nehru in the Indian context, "I do consider that the scheme of community projects is something of very great importance and it is so not merely because you can sum up and write down on paper the material achievements of such a project...you can make a list of them and it is pleasing to see that list but somehow my mind goes beyond, to the man, woman and child. The house may be good but it is the builder of the house that counts ultimately. Therefore, it is to the builder that my mind goes; we want to make the people of India all builders. These community projects appear to me to be something of vital importance, not only in the material achievements that they would bring about but much more because they seek to build up the community and the individual and make the latter a builder of his own village centre and of India in the larger sense."³¹ And this

30. *Ibid.*, p.26. (Italics are given by the writer.)

31. From Shri Nehru's inaugural speech at the First Development Commissioners' Conference, Delhi, May 7, 1952 (*Vide: Jawaharlal Nehru on Community Development*,

urge for self-determination will inhere in the people only if participation in planning is sought through their elected local bodies. "While operating through the people's local organizations, the programme simultaneously strengthens the foundations of democracy on which our constitution stands, by making the villager understand the significance of development and his own position in the process of development and it makes him realize his position in this vast democracy."³² It is for this reason that one reads in a United Nations publication that "a programme of community development is most successful when it becomes an integral part of or is closely related to the existing administrative organization at the local, intermediate and national levels."³³ It has also to be borne in mind that an *ad hoc* body may not enjoy the confidence of the people and consequently the plans prepared in consultation with it may not find favour with the people. What is worse, political, personal or sectarian considerations may dominate the appointing authority and the body thus appointed may not represent the people but represent only itself. If the elected local bodies already exist, a nominated *ad hoc* body would pose as its rival, fostering factions instead of harmony and unity, creating suspicion rather than faith in the plan and inspiring mutual ill-will instead of corporate spirit and co-operative endeavour. It may be argued here that nominated *ad hoc* body may have better personnel—Carlyle's mobile silent men who would serve the people best and yet who go unnoticed as they refuse to contest elections owing to all the dirt and mud of party politics attached with it. They may be better equipped with education and understanding of the problems of planning and hence more suited to the job, while the elected representatives may not come up to the ideal. All this may be conceded. Yet if our ideal is to evolve a rural community development programme which is of the people, for the people and by the people and if the people are to grow into a vigorous democracy through it, their elected local bodies have to participate in its planning. They may err for a time, but democracy

issued on behalf of Ministry of Community Development, by the Publications Division, Government India, April, 1957, pp. 7-8)

32. *Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service*, op. cit., p.1.

Cf. Another statement in the same Report: "During the past few years, plans for community development have often been attempted to be processed not through such democratic institutions but through *ad hoc* bodies like Vikas Mandals, etc. Often, we have been told that the village panchayat is for various reasons not suitable for such work. This is a confession not merely of our lack of faith in democracy but of our failure to make the programme a genuine community development programme. It can become genuine only by operating through the co-operatives on the one hand and the statutory elective representative bodies on the other. (*Ibid.*, p.3.)

33. *Social Progress Through Community Development*, United Nations, Bureau of Social Affairs, New-York, 1955; p.12.

is its own school and pours itself into its beings through a process of error, trial and correction.

FUNDAMENTALS IN TERMS OF ADMINISTRATION

Now we turn to a study of some fundamental considerations that should govern the administration of a rural community development programme. At the outset it has to be borne in mind that the problem of the administration of rural community development programme is so complex, many-sided and difficult that one cannot exhaust even a consideration of the fundamentals that should govern it but can only make a mention of the more important considerations in the brief space of this essay.

Three basic ideas concern us here. First, the rural community development programme is primarily and essentially educational in its nature and objective. It is educational because more than the actual material advancement it is "concerned with changing such attitudes, and practices as are obstacles to social and economic improvements, engendering particular attributes which are conducive to these improvements and more generally promoting a greater receptivity to change."³⁴ Further, it has to educate the people in the art of leadership, community life, self-help and co-operative endeavour in the field of rural community development. The educational aspect of the programme should be treated as the governing factor in the organization and administration of the programme. Secondly, while organizing the administrative mechanism, it should be remembered that the objective is not community development in general but the development of a community which is essentially rural and as such the administration should have a distinctly rural bias to bring about real and lasting changes. Lastly, as our analysis is specifically in the context of under-developed countries, it needs to be mentioned that an *under-developed* country is very different from a developed country in resources, both human and material, the mental make-up of its citizens, especially in the context of receptivity to change and a will to affect it by themselves in their sense of priorities and values in life, in their traditions, culture and institutions and above all in their political and administrative heritage which in most cases, for no fault of theirs, has not been democratic. Obviously, therefore, one cannot blindly borrow the administrative structure, devices and mechanism of differently situated and more developed countries and apply them to under-developed areas. It does not mean that one should not benefit from the experience of other countries; what it means is that the

34. *Community Development Review*, December 1956. Quoted in the *Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service*, *op. cit.*, p.2.

ideal should be *selective borrowing* and not *blind borrowing* and the criterion of selection should be its suitability to the people (both the administrative personnel and the common men), their genius and resources and the exigencies of time and place.

Now let us turn to a study of the more important administrative issues.

The first important issue is the role of the Government official in the administration of a rural community development programme. It goes without saying that at least in the initial stages till a rural community learns to stand on its own feet, the Government official has to play a significant role and the community development programme has to be a joint endeavour of the official and the non-official. As Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has observed in the Indian context, "officials and non-officials have both their part to play in this work. Both are essential. Officials should bring the experience of training and disciplined service. The non-officials should represent and bring that popular urge and enthusiasm which give life to a movement. Both have to think and act in a dynamic way and develop initiative. The official has to develop the qualities of the popular leader, the people's representatives have to develop the discipline and training of the official, so they approximate to each other and both should be guided by the ideal of disciplined service in common cause."³⁵ What then is the exact role of the Government official? As the ultimate objective of the programme is to bring about a self-sufficient and self-governing community, the Government official has to follow the ideal of *laissez faire* or of least interference. His role is not to administer the programme himself but to make the people administer it. He would, therefore, guide operations but would not undertake them by himself as far as possible. He must advise, encourage and warn. This, of course, is the ultimate objective. In the initial stages, however, his is a dual role—taking of initiative himself and evoking initiative in others, using his expert skill and experience in the successful execution of the programme and helping the people to become experts and gain experience, playing the leader and at the same time producing leadership. But for this dual role in the transitional stage, the ultimate objective would never be realized. However, the official should never lose sight of the ultimate objective. He should be a model of self-denial—the more the people learn, the more should he recede into the background. In a word, the ideal should be *progressive democratic decentralization*³⁶ or from directed action to self-directed achievement.

35. Kurukshetra, *A Symposium on Community Development in India*, op. cit., p.202.

36. It is worthwhile to distinguish decentralisation from delegation. As stated in the Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension

What should then be the model administrative set-up on the principle of progressive democratic decentralization? The administration of the programme should be entrusted to an elective local institution because it is in a better position to assess the local needs and resources and is nearer the people to evoke their enthusiasm and mobilize their support. It has to be emphasized here that the local institution should have a fully autonomous statutory status and be the sole authority to administer the programme in the area. Dualism of control or authority would divide responsibility and handicap progress. It should have adequate and elastic financial resources. This body should plan the administration of the programme and operate it.³⁷ The local body should recruit the field workers to be in charge of the operation of the plan from their own area of jurisdiction as far as possible, of course within the limits of the qualifications which the Government should prescribe. The local men thus recruited as field workers will have an essentially rural outlook, will have their roots in the soil, will be in the full know of local needs, problems, resources and genius, will understand local outlook, customs and traditions and will be acquainted with the local language. They will have no complexes, no sense of superiority or contempt for the villagers, which an urban worker cannot help having, while working in rural premises. They will have a humane approach to the villagers, as they themselves are a part of them. They will explain the plan to them in their own language in the context of local needs and with an emphasis on the solution that it will offer to local problems. They will give a sympathetic response to their reactions and suggestions. They will thus impart a new life and a new meaning to the plan for the villagers with the local colour that they impart to it. They will appeal to the local sentiment in the name of the local loyalties to the village that they will thus promise to build up. They will enthuse the villagers about the plan, who will take the field workers as their own people, will repose confidence in them and offer them their whole-hearted co-operation and thus

Service: "It is not infrequently that delegation of power is mistaken for decentralisation. The former does not divest the government of the ultimate responsibility for the actions of the authority to whom power is delegated; this authority is under the control of the Government and is in every way subordinate to it. Decentralisation on the other hand is a process whereby the Government divests itself completely of certain duties and responsibilities and devolves them on to some other authority." (*Vide: Report, op. cit., p.7*)

37. The Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service has made a strong plea for such a local body in these words: "Such a body, if created, has to be statutory and elective, comprehensive in its duties and functions, equipped with necessary executive machinery and in possession of adequate resources. It must not be cramped by too much control by the Government or Government agencies. It must have the power to make mistakes and to learn by making mistakes, but it must also receive guidance which will help it to avoid making mistakes. In the ultimate analysis, it must be an instrument of expression of the local people's will in regard to the local development." (*Vide: Report, op. cit., p.6.*)

alone can we, as Shri Nehru emphasized, "produce a sensation of partnership with the man in the village. The Five Year Plan of India is a people's plan, and in its implementation a feeling should be generated among the people so that each man, woman and child in India became as it were a 'partner in India Ltd.,' jointly engaged in the great task of building a new India".³⁸ It may be argued here that suitable field workers may not be available in the local area itself. The obvious reply is that they can be made suitable. After they have been recruited by the local body, the Government may undertake to train them in the art of community development. If, however, we have to provide for a strong popular base to the administration of a rural community development programme the field worker must come from the local area where he has to work.

One may ask here how the Government official is to function in this self-governing administrative mechanism. The Government should attach an advisory council of officials with each local body to serve at times as a path-finder, at times as technical, legal or administrative adviser and at times, of course as rarely as possible, even as a director, supervisor and controller. The local body should, however, have the ultimate control, though in the initial stages the official advisory body shall have to undertake greater initiative, direction, control and responsibility than in the later phase, when the local body and the community have learnt to help themselves. But the official advisory body should work in a democratic way—working at the behest of the local body and that too not in a way as to give the idea of superimposition, or undue and arbitrary interference. With such an official advisory body by the side of a local body as an interim arrangement, one may expect a happy and healthy combination of efficiency with democracy.³⁹ The Government has also to provide

38. From the speech at the National Development Council, October 7, 1953. (*Vide: Jawaharlal Nehru on Community Development, op.cit.*, p.5.) Cf. Another statement of Shri Nehru in his inaugural speech at the first Development Commissioners' Conference, Delhi, May 7, 1952: "Often, we like to sit in our chambers and decide everything according to what we consider to be good for the people. I think the people themselves should be given the opportunity to think about it and thus they will affect our thinking as we affect their thinking. In this way, something much more living and integrated is produced, something in which there is a sense of intimate partnership—intimate partnership not in the doing of the job but in the making of the job and the thinking of the job. It is true that those of us or those of you who are more trained, who have given more thought to the problem and might be considered, to some extent, especially suited to that kind of work are better qualified for thinking and giving the lead than you or I; at the same time, it is equally true that unless those, who may not be specialists but for whom you are working and who ultimately are supposed to work for themselves, feel that mental urge, that impact of the creative spirit within them to think and act, they will not work in the way that we all want them to work." (*Ibid.*, p.7)

39. Thus perhaps the objections of the critics to the recommendations of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service about the decentralisation of authority to a people's self-governing institution may be met without compromising with the democratic ideal which the Team has so ardently and ably

for a team of experts—doctors, engineers, surveyors, irrigation and agricultural experts, teachers and so on. They would assist the field workers in the actual operation and will approach the villagers through the medium of field workers so that their expert knowledge may pass on to the villagers in their own language and idiom in a layman's way which they can understand, appreciate and follow. The Government has also to arrange for the pre-service and in-service training of the community development administration right from the officers to the field worker.

It will not be out of place to consider here the nature of the training, both pre-service and in-service. Of course, the actual courses of training will have to differ from ladder to ladder in the context of the official obligations of the trainee. A few general considerations may be ventured here. The training should not be merely theoretical. It should have a distinct rural bias. The training should emphasize the need of a psychological and human approach in administration of the rural community development programme, so that it may rouse the people's imagination and support for the programme. The training should enthuse the administrators both about the programme and their own job and role in its successful operation so that they may succeed to enthuse the villagers and "kindle a fire within their heart."⁴⁰ Above all, the training should not aim at producing experts but better-equipped amateurs with an intelligent grasp of the basic problems of rural development and their solutions. This is particularly essential in the case of field workers who are required not so much as experts to operate the plan but to serve as a reliable link and medium between the Government and the people and the expert and the people. This alone will be economical and practicable; this alone in fact is needed

espoused. The Report of the Team has referred to these objections as follows: "We have been told, and we do not deny, that such a devolution of powers and responsibilities and the consequent decentralisation of the executive machinery may result in a fall in efficiency. Centralisation and even autocracy often appear more efficient than decentralisation and democracy. This may be true over short spans of time, but in the long run, we believe that democracy and decentralisation assert themselves and succeed better especially in the field of local development and local welfare. Rural development and rural welfare are possible only with local initiative and local discretion. If, therefore, there is a fall in efficiency, as a consequence of such devolution and decentralisation, such a fall will, we have no doubt, be temporary. The lack of efficiency of many of our present rural self-governing bodies has been due to too large a jurisdiction, too few powers and too scanty finances accompanied by an absence of close relationship with the village panchayats and of wise guidance by Government or by political parties. Nor have any efforts been made either by the Governments or by public or political organisations to impart any training in administrative matters to persons elected to such bodies." (*Vide: Report, op.cit.*, p.7-8.)

40. From an English version of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's Hindi Broadcast on the occasion of the inauguration of Project Officers' Training Camp at Nilokheri (*Vide: Orientation and Training Course for Project Executive Officers at Nilokheri: Summary Record of Talks*, issued by Community Project Administration, Planning Commission, Government of India, 1952, p.25)

as it has already been suggested that the Government should provide for a team of experts to look to the technical side of operations and this alone will give a large number of field workers who in fact will form the life-spring of the successful operation of the programme.

It will be obvious from the above that the actual administrative mechanism shall thus have to consist of the elected non-officials as ultimate authority, officials as advisers, experts as technical operators and field workers as the subordinate but main plank of the operative machinery. As far as the working principles of this administrative mechanism are concerned, one can venture certain general suggestions in the following words of Shri S.B. Bapat :

“Principles of Administration

Technique is a continuous move to improve things as a result of research and experience. The aim should be to evolve such a technique that it becomes an automatic action.

There is always an objective for any administration and the following are the essentials for being a good administrator :

1. Know thoroughly what your objective is, or in simple language “what is to be done and for what purpose”, the objective being the attainment of a job for a particular purpose.
2. Assess your requirements and the resources at your disposal for achieving the objective by conducting the survey of requirements and resources. To put it in other words it means “What for do I need it and what have I got?”
3. How resources are going to be used or what is commonly known as planning both in time as well as in space. It involves the setting up of machinery for doing a set of things in relation to each other by a set of people and allocation of duties for each one of them. It may also involve a process of breaking down of administration of the main objective in sub-objectives and then co-ordinating the activities to ensure that they function in a particular manner.

Organization

In an efficient organization everybody concerned must know what is the main objective or the sub-task he has to perform; who are the people above him to take orders from and those below him whom he has to issue orders; what he is supposed to do and what his specific responsibilities are. The following are the points to be taken care of in a good organization :

1. The objective must be clear to everybody concerned.

2. Responsibilities must be commensurate with an equal amount of authority for each one of its component offices.
3. Lines of responsibility and authority must be quite clear. Nobody should be made to serve two masters on the same subject.
4. There must be no jumping of levels for issuing orders or asking for information. In case of expediency when direct orders are received or sought from authority not directly on top the middle authority must always be kept fully posted with the development."⁴¹

One may add a geo-politic consideration to the foregoing technique of administration suggested by Shri Bapat. The principle of '*a reasonably manageable area*' should always govern the determination of administrative jurisdiction. First, the administrative units of a community development programme should be neither so large as to defeat the very purpose for which they are created nor so small as to militate against efficiency and economy. Secondly, the field worker should have a limited area of service to which he may devote personal attention and to improve which he may make a concerted effort. If he is to dissipate his energies over too vast an area, as in India, no concrete results are possible.

The survey of the fundamentals of the administration of a rural community development programme will not be complete unless it is emphasized that administrators right from the officers at the top to the field worker and also the non-officials have to play the *democratic leader* and a human psychologist. It can hardly be over-emphasized that "democracy needs a completely new organization of the technique of administration, which will be consistent with the factors and the aims which a democratic community seeks to achieve. Democracy requires leadership. Autocratic bossing of the job is not real leadership. It may be 'executive ability' but if so it is an ability to 'execute' the aspirations of democracy, to suppress them and discourage and destroy them rather than to lead them. All too long democracy has to fight against these unsympathetic attitudes of the typical administrator."⁴² A democratic leader is one who has a sense of innate affinity with the people, loves them in spite of their handicaps and failings, is drawn by instinct to serve their needs and wants and seek to improve their lot with a sense of duty and with all sympathy

41. S.B. Bapat, "Technique of Administration", *Orientation and Training Course of Project Executive Officers at Nilokheri, Summary Record of Talks, op. cit.*, pp.99-100.

42. This statement from Joseph K. Hart has been quoted by Arthur E. Morgan in his book '*The Small Community*', New York & London, Harper and Brothers, 1942, p. 172.

and humility at his command. He must find joy in working for the people and with them, with all perseverance and patience. He must have honesty of purpose, integrity of character and transparent sincerity in his approach and action. Words alone will not do; precept must be enlivened with practice and "character must square with words in long-time rural leadership."⁴³ They must have a genuine passion not only to play the leader but to produce leaders. Spencer has well summed up the qualitative make-up of a leader as follows :

- "1. Ability to inspire a following in sympathy with and loyal to the task.
2. Knowledge of situation and clear conception of problem.
3. Sympathy with and loyalty to the situation.
4. Ability to solve problems and put theory into practice.
5. Group harmonizer, spokesman, planner, in short, integrator.
6. Initiative, organising ability, intangible personal factors.
7. Reflecting morals and emotions of group but may change both.
8. Sufficient strength to carry out project.
9. Willingness to be leader.
10. Faith and hope in the goal sought."⁴⁴

Such democratic leaders alone can evoke spontaneous response from the people and mobilize them in action as a commander inspires an army on the field. It is, however, no easy job. Very patient, careful and essentially humane psychological handling is needed. The villagers in under-developed countries are both conservative and orthodox. They have their own psychological morings, whether good or bad, in religion, custom and traditions and are averse to revolutionary ideas. Their age-old experience of sickness, misery, and ignorance has bred a sense of fatalism in them and has stunted their intellect and initiative. Their backwardness has deprived them of all the contact with new values of life and with the new advances that civilization has to offer to make life more productive, more comfortable and more lasting. They have lost self-confidence and refuse to believe that they too can help themselves. Their heritage of a 'Maa Baap' government always comes in their way. The administrators have, therefore, to go slow, approach the villagers with sympathy and understanding, win their confidence by love and service, show all indulgence for their weak points, change their institutions and practices by persuasion and goodwill and inspire them to action by

43. D.Spencer Hatch, *Towards Freedom From Want*, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1949, p.117.

44. *Ibid.*, p.118.

concrete results and example. It is a stupendous task and needs, not white collar urban bureaucrats steeped in the traditions of a police state, or young graduates having no interest in rural development except that of employment, but simple, public spirited and rural development minded band of administrators, as far as possible from the rural folk itself.

Lastly, it should be recognized that a science of rural administration has to develop, if the rural community development programme is to be successfully administered. Government sponsored or, better still, independent institutions such as universities and colleges should take up this work. Similarly, these independent bodies should also attempt an independent evaluation of the community development programme already in operation and thus assist the Government and the public to improve the administration of the programme in the light of their unbiased findings.

CONCLUSION

The more important conclusions of the foregoing survey are :

- (1) That a rural community development programme should be *multi-purpose, multi-focussed* and *multi-processed*;
 - (2) That it should be a people's programme and for this it should embody their needs and aspirations with their sense of priority as far as possible, should be planned with their maximum participation and should aim at the ideal of community helping itself both in planning and operation;
 - (3) That the planning of the programme should have a local and rural bias;
 - (4) That the administration of a rural community development programme should have democratic leadership, local management, and expert advice in operation;
 - (5) That the personnel should have rural bias both in recruitment and training;
 - (6) That the administrators should adopt a humane psychological approach, while dealing with the villagers; and
 - (7) That the Government should encourage the growth of a science of rural administration and help research in techniques of rural administration and evaluation of rural community development programmes by such independent bodies as universities and colleges which are nurseries of pure and fresh thought.
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PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

F. J. Tickner

THE machinery of government in Yugoslavia is unique in character and of great interest to students of public administration. Although it has some affinities to the administrative systems of other European countries, it has adopted, since the revision of the Constitution of 1953, principles which have no exact parallel elsewhere. This article attempts to give a general picture of Yugoslav public administration, without attempting to evaluate the effectiveness of its operation, a task which would be almost impossible for a foreign observer.

For a full understanding of the present administrative situation, some preliminary historical and political observations are necessary. Although the Yugoslavs form a homogeneous ethnic group, Yugoslavia has not been a political unity since the Turkish invasions of Europe in the fourteenth century until the end of the first world war, when a centralized monarchy was established under predominant Serbian influence. This was destroyed by the German invasion in 1941 and on 29 November 1943, the federated state of Yugoslavia was set up by the Council of National Liberation at Jajce, whilst the country was still partly occupied by the German forces. Belgrade, the capital, was liberated in 1944 and the new government gained effective control of the whole territory of Yugoslavia by May 1945. The new state was formally proclaimed the Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia on 29 November 1945. Apart from some differences in the region of Trieste, it has the same geographic area as the monarchy.

Yugoslavia was for many centuries divided between Austrian and Turkish control. From the beginning of the eighteenth century the frontier between these two cultural influences was stabilised roughly along the line of the river Save. This cut Serbia in half and left Belgrade, now the capital, right on the border as a Turkish bastion overlooking the Save and the Danube. The Serbs gained some measure of autonomy during the first half of the nineteenth century but it was not until 1867 that Prince Michael finally secured the withdrawal of the Turkish garrisons from southern Serbia. The northern part of Serbia, Voivodina, remained under Austro-Hungarian control and in 1908 the Austrians extended their influence even further south by effectively ousting the Turks from Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a result of the second Balkan war, Macedonia became part of Serbia

in 1913. Montenegro has continuously maintained its independence since the fourteenth century.

In spite of the foreign influences brought by this long period of invasions, the mountainous nature of most of Yugoslavia has enabled it to maintain a traditional culture, predominantly indigenous, varying from district to district and even from valley to valley. In the northern half of the country Austrian influence led to the general adoption of the Roman Catholic religion and to the use of the Roman alphabet. In southern Yugoslavia the Greek Orthodox religion has survived the moslem invasions and the Cyrillic script held its own. Turkish influence has left behind a number of moslem communities, principally in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it is estimated that about eleven per cent of the whole population is moslem. Serbo-Croat, the principal language, is written in the two different scripts and spoken with some variations in Serbia and Croatia. The two other slavonic languages, Slovenian and Macedonian, are closely allied to it, but with greater variations from it and from one another than the variations between Serbian and Croatian. In addition there are ethnic minorities using other languages, notably Albanians, Hungarians, Turks and Slovaks, which account for about 2,000,000 out of a total population of 18,000,000.

Modern Yugoslavia consists of a Federation of the six People's Republics of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro. Croatia and Slovenia were longest under Austrian influence, together with northern Serbia, which, because of its different history and its ethnic minorities, has now a special status as the Autonomous Province of Voivodina. Thus half of the country came under the administrative and legal traditions of the Austro-Hungarian empire and during the period between the two world wars the administration also looked towards France for many of its ideas. We therefore now find a strong tradition of administrative law in the operation of the administration, under the ultimate jurisdiction of the federal and republican Supreme Courts. The structure of local government also has superficial similarities to that of Austria but in fact the system of local self-government is characteristic of Yugoslavia.

When the country became independent again at the end of the second world war, a communist government was established with strong tendencies towards political and administrative centralization in the management of the economy, although equal scope was given to all of the constituent republics and Serbian predominance disappeared;

the leaders of the National Liberation Movement and of the government were drawn from all parts of Yugoslavia. This initial period of state socialism is generally regarded in Yugoslavia as having been a necessary phase in the reconstruction of the country from the ravages of war and occupation, but by 1950 a strong reaction set in against this economic centralization which had led to the creation of massive government departments and directorates of national enterprises, and so to a bureaucracy large in terms of the size of the administration. A developing system of local self-government existed from the time of liberation so that the ground was already prepared for a revision of the Constitution in 1953 which introduced drastic measures of decentralization in the economic and social structure of the country as well as in its administration.

The developments during the first period are not considered to have been misdirected. To quote Kardelj, one of the most prominent members of the government, . . . "At the time when this (centralized) system came into being, this was necessary because it was possible only in this way to concentrate material resources on the most basic tasks in order to create material conditions for further socialist construction, for further development. Certainly this system has on the whole given positive results. If we are renouncing it today this does not mean that we are doing so because we made a mistake at that time, but because we believe that we have attained on the whole the desired objective and that thus we can go further."

The keynote of the changes of 1953, which have set the pattern of the administration of present-day Yugoslavia, was the devolution of authority as far as possible from district organs to the municipality or commune, the basic unit of local government, which has been taken as the primary level of operations not only in government but also in the economic and social structure of the country. In industrial enterprises and in the highly developed system of social insurance, the same principle of devolution has been applied with committees of management at the appropriate levels, designed to stimulate popular interest and participation. Thus each enterprise, each educational institution, each apartment building, each hospital and so on, has an elected council with general responsibility for its operation and administration; the managerial appointments are held by professional men or technicians who are also members of the governing council. Service on these committees is regarded as a valuable civic training which qualifies the individual to assume similar responsibility at higher levels up to membership of the Federal Assembly.

This concept of collegiate management is based on the assumption that in order to stimulate the effective interest of the people in

government there must be active participation within a small enough unit to maintain the interest of the individual. Again to quote Kardelj, the commune "is the most suitable political form through which the widest circle of working people may be attracted to participate directly in social government... There is no doubt that such a commune will become the basis of our entire political system." The ultimate objective in the Yugoslav political philosophy is to reach a stage "where the entire population will be participating in government", a phrase attributed to Lenin.

Such an approach as this, different altogether from that of so many political societies, has had far-reaching effects on the machinery of government. Of course, decentralization still leaves considerable authority in the hands of the federal and republican governments, and the administrative structure is best examined from the top, rather than from the bottom. Yugoslavia is constitutionally a federal state. It consists of the six People's Republics—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia—together with the Autonomous Province of Voivodina, already mentioned, and the Autonomous Kosovo-Metohia Region in southern Serbia.

The Skupshtina, the Federal People's Assembly or federal parliament, has two houses, the Federal Council and the Council of Producers, each elected for a four-year term. Members of the Federal Council are elected from single-member constituencies; members of the Council of Producers by the councils of producers of the district people's committees. The members of both houses of the Skupshtina also have the right of membership to the appropriate chamber of the district or city council where their constituencies are situated. In addition, the Federal Council includes 10 deputies from each Republic, six from Voivodina and four from Kosovo-Metohia, elected by the republican assemblies. For certain specific purposes, especially constitutional amendments, these republican deputies sit separately as the Council of Nationalities.

The executive organ of the Assembly is the Federal Executive Council, of which the President of the Republic is also president. The President and the Executive Council are elected by the Assembly in joint session for the same four-year term as the assembly. By the constitution the Executive Council has not less than 15 members (at present there are 34 members) and each of the Republics must be represented in it. Its members are elected from among the members of the Federal Council of the Federal People's Assembly and they include all six of the presidents of the Executive Councils of the Republics. The members of the Federal Executive Council do not hold specific portfolios, as in a cabinet of ministers; they assume collegiate

responsibility for all decisions and are collectively responsible to the Skupshtina. Attempts are being made to develop a system of parliamentary questions, similar to that in force in the British House of Commons.

The administrative work of government is carried out by secretariats, which correspond approximately to departments of state. These fall into two categories. The State Secretariats deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Home Affairs, Finance and Trade; these are matters in which the federation is concerned to a greater extent than the republics. The matters in which the republics play the more important part in government are dealt with at the federal level by Secretariats of Legislation and Organization, General Economic Affairs, Industry, Agriculture and Forestry, Transport and Communications, Labour, Culture and Education, Health, Social Protection, Judicial Affairs, Information, and General Administration. Members of the Federal Executive Council may become heads of State Secretariats. The Secretariats of Foreign Affairs and Defence are necessarily headed by members of the Federal Executive Council. In addition, there are Administrations responsible for such matters as Customs Administration, Geodetic Survey, Patent Rights, Civil Aviation, Federal Revenue Administration and so on, and a number of Boards, Commissions and Administrative Institutions.

Co-ordination between the Federal Executive Council and the State Secretariat and Secretariats is achieved through a series of committees. The chairman and at least two members of each committee must be members of the Council; other members may be drawn from the Federal People's Council, from senior members of the State Secretariats and Secretariats as well as from representatives of interested institutions and organizations. These committees discuss proposals for new legislation drafted by the State Secretariats and prepare business for the Executive Council, which may invite their advice and observations on specific proposals, but all matters within the Council's jurisdiction are brought to a plenary session for decision. The Council has four Vice-Presidents. Several of the State Secretaries are members of the Federal Executive Council, though only those for Foreign Affairs and National Defence have a prescriptive right to be elected.

The Federal Executive Council is advised on matters of public administration by the Organization and Administration Committee, one of the committees referred to in the previous paragraph and by the Legal Council, an advisory organ of the Federal Executive Council. The Secretariat of Legislation and Organization has overall

responsibility for the machinery of government, including political organization. The Secretariat of General Administration deals with personnel matters and approximates to the Establishment Division of the British Treasury.

The difference between political and career appointments is not as clear-cut as in the United Kingdom or France. There is a well-defined career system which involves a two-year probation with a written examination at the end of it and a minimum of ten years service as a qualification for pensionable status, approximating to an established appointment. There are also recognizable cadres, in the French sense, that is successive grades in a particular category of service offering step-by-step promotion. At the same time a very large number of appointments are made by direct selection from candidates, who may apply in response to advertisement in the Official Gazette. No doubt many of these are in practice filled by applicants from the grade below.

The individual civil servant is regarded as in the service of his agency—federal, republican or communal—but the system allows a good deal of mobility. Standardization of pay and conditions of service are secured, as in France, by legislation and a salary scheme applicable to all departments. In the higher ranges of the administration, many appointments are political in character but the stability of the political system has minimized changes, so that in fact there is much of the continuity which is normally regarded as an important asset of a non-political career system.

In the People's Republics the same pattern of administration is repeated, with the difference that there is a President of the Executive Council, not a president of the republic. The distinction between State Secretariats and Secretariats is maintained but the subjects reserved for the State Secretariats of the republics are Internal Affairs, Judicial Affairs and Finance. In Zagreb the republican Assembly still has the old Croatian name of *Sabor*, an interesting example of the maintenance of ancient traditions.

The Autonomous District of Voivodina and the Autonomous Kosovo-Metohia Region have a somewhat simpler administrative structure. Voivodina, which is part of the ancient Pannonia, is the fertile agricultural area which in many ways is the most developed part of Serbia; but it has special administrative problems arising from the existence of national minorities, mainly Hungarian and Romanian, using their own languages.

The system of directly elected bicameral people's assemblies, each with an executive council, also applies to the communes. These have secretariats, departments and other administrative units, dealing with specific functions of government and their work is co-ordinated by functional boards or by committees of the communal assembly reminiscent of those in British local government. In Belgrade and some of the largest urban areas, there is a two-tier municipal system somewhat on the lines of that in force in London, but the Councils of the People's Committee of the city of Belgrade (corresponding to the London County Council) are elected by the members of the corresponding councils of the People's Committees of the seventeen communes (corresponding to the Metropolitan Boroughs). The Republics, except Montenegro, are subdivided into Districts, and here too members of the People's Committees are elected by the corresponding committees at the lower level. The same procedure applies to the election of the councils of the republican assembly in the People's Republic of Montenegro. There are altogether nearly one hundred districts and cities.

This extensive system of representative assemblies, each with its executive organ, its functional committees and its administrative secretariats, has created an immense problem in public administration. In the 1193 communes alone, there are 38,000 communal councillors and over 30,000 members of the councils of producers. Each of these units of government had additional executive functions placed upon it by the policy of devolution and the federal laws have more and more become directives to be administered at the lower levels. Some idea of the personnel problems involved may be judged from the fact that the number of staff (excluding the defence forces and the police) borne on the federal budget fell from 43,578 in 1948 to 8,060 in 1955. Although administrators with experience of central government thus became available at lower levels of administration, it was decided that members of existing staffs should not be displaced merely because they had inadequate educational background for their enhanced functions. This created a training problem of the first magnitude. Administrative schools were set up to supplement the knowledge and qualifications not only of local officials but also of holders of political executive appointments in order to raise the general level of administration.

These administrative schools were created in 1956 by federal law, which makes them the responsibility of the republics, one each in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovakia, and three in Serbia : at Belgrade, Nish and Novi Sad. Students are drawn from the middle ranks of the administration of the republics, communes

and state institutions and organizations and individuals from outside the administration may also be admitted. Attendance is full time and on full pay, for two years; the basic principles of the teaching programme and the standards required for admission are prescribed by the Federal Executive Council. Special preliminary courses are arranged for candidates who do not satisfy the educational standards required and provision is also made for external students working through correspondence courses. The Administrative School of the Serbian Republic in Belgrade, for example, in its first two-year course from 1956 to 1958, trained 260 students of whom 246 qualified for the diploma. Of the total number, 132 came from communes, 58 from districts, 14 from the service of the Republic and 56 from economic and social institutions.

The curriculum places considerable emphasis during the first year on the legal aspects of administration. In the second year the syllabus includes economic and social studies with special emphasis on the economic structure of the country and each student takes an optional subject related to his official duties. On the whole, the course seems to give emphasis to theory rather than practice but in concept it aims at educational development rather than vocational training; the indirect catalytic effect of bringing together students from such a diversity of decentralized units must be of great value in the development of common administrative practices.

At Zagreb an Advanced School of Administration has been established which accepts students from throughout Yugoslavia, though the majority come from Croatia. This offers a two-year course at a somewhat higher level than the schools in the Republics. It is residential but it also provides for external students. It accepts each year about 200 applicants who must satisfy the requirements of an entrance examination. As part of the curriculum, students, either individually or in small groups, have to prepare a thesis discussing some aspect of their professional task and at the end of the course a copy of the thesis is sent to the Executive Committee of their unit of administration so that it may be discussed in terms of the realities of the situation on their return to duty.

Three other important developments are taking place in the improvement of public administration. At the University of Belgrade, the Faculty of Law is considering proposals for an alternative syllabus with heavy emphasis on economics and administration for third and fourth year students. An independent Institute of Social Sciences has also been set up in Belgrade, with a Political Science and Legal Department which will interest itself in matters of public administration.

The Federal Executive Council has recently established an Institute of Public Administration to "lend aid to state organs and other institutions and organizations in the advancement of public administration", to foster the improvement of personnel organization and training, to assist the work of the administrative schools, to help in the framing of professional examinations, to organise study courses and collect documentation, and to foster the study of problems of administration and management both in Yugoslavia and elsewhere. In connection with this last objective, it will absorb an Organization and Methods unit, which was already in existence before the creation of the Institute. The statutes of the Institute also require every student attending its courses "to defend before a commission his written thesis from the field of public administration", before he qualifies for its diploma.

Intimately interested in, if not directly associated with, developments in public administration is the very active Federal Institute of Productivity. One of the projects inspired by this organization is a Management Training Centre at Zagreb set up in July 1955 with the aid of the International Labour Organization.

The measures of decentralization which have been imposed on this relatively young administrative system would have been a severe strain on the resources of a more developed public service and an impartial observer can only have the greatest respect and admiration for the boldness with which they have been carried out. The idea of increasing popular participation by extensive devolution of authority is a challenging one. It is impossible for an outsider to assess the effectiveness of the administration as a whole. It is fairly obvious that with nearly 1200 communes, operating in a country with great regional divergencies of historical and social background, standards must vary considerably and the same must hold true of the economic enterprises. This is not by any means a source of weakness. The fact that a high proficiency is achieved in some places sets a standard at which others can aim and the underlying concept of popular participation creates a direct interest in improvement. On the other hand it is not easy to see what forces stimulate the backward units when authority is so diffused. Presumably questions of disputed jurisdiction also arise from time to time and call for solution. The outsider is impressed by the purposefulness of those concerned with the building of the new administration, by their readiness to make a heavy financial investment in the various training schemes and by the general interest in progress which has been aroused throughout the administration.

RESOURCE MOBILISATION FOR THE THIRD PLAN

Parmanand Prasad

[The quantum of resources likely to be available for the third Plan and the manner and method of raising them is of significance for the scope and scale of administrative tasks to be undertaken under the third Plan. In the present article, Dr. Prasad discusses this problem in the larger context of the need for a realistic approach, for a closer and increased association of the people in the formulation of the Plan and in the mobilisation of resources, for increased employment opportunities on labour-intensive basis, and for a decentralised pattern of administration—Ed.]

THE Second Plan is on the last lap of its journey now. It is natural, therefore, that thinking should begin about the nature and size of the Third Plan. The Planning Commission is making various types of background studies. These studies are being made by the various working groups entrusted with specific problems. Some of them have, in fact, submitted their tentative findings also.¹

Expert opinion from foreign specialists like Prof. Galbriath, Prof. Little, Prof. Malenbaum and others has also been sought. Some of them have either already sent their observations or are going to send them to the authorities concerned. Except in respect of such information as is doled out to them by the Government through the press or through specialist articles² and Seminar discussions inadequately covered by the newspapers of the country, the public is in the dark about the state of thinking regarding the Third Plan.³

1. The Prime Minister, in reply to a question at his monthly press interview, said that the draft plan may come out sometime next year or at the end of the present year. (The Statesman, 8th July, 1959.)

2. e.g., by persons like Shri Ashok Mehta, Dr. K.N. Raj, Shri Pitambar Pant, and others.

3. The earliest to appear was a pamphlet from the Secretariat of the Congress Socialist Forum under the guidance of Shri S.N. Misra, Deputy Minister, Planning. It was followed soon by a Seminar on the subject at the Annual Meeting of the All-India Universities' Planning Forums. The Congress has also appointed a number of sub-committees to study the problems connected with the Third Plan. Only recently, at Ootacamund, the Congress Planning Sub-Committee held a seven-day continuous discussion on the subject. The Press hand-out was unfortunately so brief and couched in such general terms that it did not convey much. The various states of the country are also preparing background material and sending suggestions to the Planning Commission regarding the nature and size of the Plan they would like best. The state plans are departmentally drawn. The states lack planning machinery.

Once again, it seems that the defects of excessively centralised thinking are likely to enter into the Third Plan. Perhaps, it is premature to make such a sweeping remark, but the dangers are latent in the very process of thinking on the Plan.⁴ Let us illustrate the point with reference to the problem of internal resource mobilisation which occupies the centre of discussion today.⁵

THE PROBLEM OF INTERNAL RESOURCE MOBILISATION

In the lack of specific decisions regarding investment and output targets item-wise, which could have formed the first firm base for making estimates of resources, most people seem to be making 'intelligent guesses'. In fact there has been almost a proliferation of such guesses in overall terms. What happens is that people make certain suppositions regarding the rate of growth of national income. Some allowance is then made for consumption on two broad considerations:

- (a) that the propensity to consume in a developing economy must be kept at the minimum. This minimum is what specialists characterise as permissible or reasonable. The projected level of consumption is largely arbitrary.
- (b) That a certain rate of investment is assumed to be desirable in the given context.

A certain total is then indicated as the likely requirement for the third plan.

The above technique is generally employed to come to an overall figure. It is this figure, the child of mind, which is christened by such names as suit the preferences of different individuals. Theoretically there is nothing wrong in this technique if only a synoptic view is desired to be had. What is undesirable, however, is that such an abstraction does not take into account practical limits. Firstly, it raises question of high political policy, secondly, of administrative capacity, thirdly, of the limitations inherent in fiscal devices themselves and lastly of inverted approach. The obvious is always the first casualty in overall considerations. A consideration of resource requirement and increment without reference to the contents

4. One reason why such a thing is happening may be that political policy decisions regarding priorities have not been taken so far. Political parties other than the Congress, surprisingly enough, also seem to have done precious little in this direction. The end-product of all this has been that a wrong start has been given to thinking at most levels.

5. This article is concerned only with this aspect of the question. Deficit financing has not been discussed because the writer considers it as a measure of last resort, when others have failed or proved inadequate. Some deficit financing is implicit but credit on resource account should not be taken for it from now for the entire period of the third plan.

of the plan is amazing indeed. This is so because the contents of the Plan, resource creation and mobilisation are mutually interdependent.

Some people are fond of a safe and modest plan. Others prefer a bold and a socialist plan, a third group of people would like to have an employment-oriented plan and yet another would have nothing less than such a plan as would enable the country to break the development barrier so that the economy could take-off fuelled adequately on a self-sustaining journey in the company of developed economies.

Some people make it conform to the model already given in the Second Plan.

Table No. I
PLAN PROJECTIONS (AT 1952-53 PRICES)

Item	Ist Plan (1951-56)	2nd Plan (1956-61)	3rd Plan (1961-66)	4th Plan (1966-71)	5th Plan (1971-76)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. National income at the end of the period (Rs. crores)	10800	13480	17260	21680	27270
2. Total net investment (Rs. crores)	3100	6200	9900	14800	20700
3. Investment as percentage of national income at the end of the period	7.3	10.7	13.7	16.0	17.0
4. Population at the end of the period (in millions)	384	408	434	465	500
5. Incremental capital-output ratio	1.8:1	2.3:1	2.6:1	3.4:1	3.7:1
6. Per capita income at the end of the period (in Rs.)	281	331	396	466	546

According to this projection, a total net investment of Rs. 9,900 crores was envisaged. Two important additions may be made at this point.

(i) A rise of 10 to 12 per cent in prices and (ii) a rise in population by .5 more than the 1.5 per annum calculation based on the 1951 census figures. A round figure of Rs. 10,000 crores will barely cover rise in prices. The rise in population is thus left uncared for. This is an ominous pointer to the contradiction inherent in the progress of the Plans. The implications of this rise in the rate of growth have to be faced on the food and employment fronts. If deficit financing and foreign aid be left out for purposes of discussion, since we are

concerned only with the question of domestic resource mobilisation in this article, the immensity of the problem would come to full light. Relatively to the present position in which the share of national domestic savings in investment is only 7.5 per cent or thereabout, a doubling of this figure would be required for the Third Plan in order to achieve a 6% increase in national income.

The use of adjectives in the context of an overall figure of say Rs. 10,000 or 9,900 or even less, not only reveals the bias of people, but what is more, vitiates discussion in more than one respect. Firstly, it leads one to think more in macro than micro-cum-macro term. Secondly, it creates a false impression that there is disagreement among the advocates of this or that type of an overall figure. Actually, however, if one cares to go deeper and examine the so-called disagreements scientifically, one would find a wide area of agreement. This is so because totals and general terms hide unsuspected areas of agreement which usually escape notice at first sight. Most people are actually talking more or less about the same magnitude (Rs. 10,000 or 9,900 crores or 9,750 crores) and yet a difference is superficially sought to be introduced by qualifying words like safe, bold, adequate etc. Actually the difference, if at all, relates to emphasis here and there. Thirdly, it does not allow sufficient attention to be bestowed upon the problem of phasing the plan from year to year. Moreover preoccupation with overall totals may lead to an undesirable conditioning of mind in their favour. Snap decisions may ultimately be taken on this basis without taking necessary preparatory measures in respect of sub-policy and executive detail. The overall figures represent estimates of probable financial expenses on unspecified projected requirements. Planning postulates something more than this. We want to know not only what we may require and why but three things more: (a) What is proposed to be done? (b) How can it be done best? and (c) Whether and to what extent we can be sure of our efforts?

It is perfectly in order for the planners to point out the places where surpluses in the economy may be lying and how and why they should be siphoned off for public use. But they would do well if, simultaneously, they go on indicating limitations and requirements of measures and agencies employed for mobilising resources. The truncated success of the Second Plan, (largely due to timely foreign aid and our deliberate lowering down of the "hump" so that we could climb it) should serve as a grim warning. The spillover of problems unsolved during the Second Plan (for example, unemployment in the context of our spirally increasing population) adds to the difficulties. The lowering down of the "hump" (target of investment) from 4,800 crores to 4,200 crores may have eased the situation a bit at the time

when it was done but has, in fact, made it all the more imperative for the country to make relatively bigger investments. A lowered investment target carries its own inescapable penalty in the sense that the less the investment, the less the national income and therefore the less the investible surplus for the future. The problem of resource mobilisation for the Third Plan, therefore, should be considered as a continuation of the present scarcity of resources.

SAVING-INVESTMENT PATTERN

The grim fact is that the pool of investible resources is, in reality, very small, at present. We can hope for more only if we go on enlarging its width and depth year by year and simultaneously devise fiscal, monetary and administrative techniques to mop it for public use. The latter is far more difficult than the former because the savings-investment pattern of the country is traditionally so organised that between 80 to 90 per cent of production in the country even now is accountable to direct private investment of surpluses. We want to take care of 2/3rd of the total investments in the country by the end of the Third Plan but 80 to 90% of the economy is still subject to private investment decisions.⁶ This is one of the biggest incongruities of planning in India. Unless the entire pattern of saving-investment is reoriented to the new demands on savings from the public sector on account of planning, it is not clear how the planners can ever reach their goal of Rs. 10,000 crores or more.

Prof. Shenoy⁷, while indicating that 90 per cent of the national income comes from the private sector, 4 per cent from the public and 6 per cent from the administrative sector (salaries and so on of the civil servants and others) suggested that the logic of this preponderance of private over public contribution was that the private sector "naturally should have the first claim over it..." This means perpetuation

6. Actually since the First Plan public share of investments has been somewhere between 48% to 55%. Much of it consists of (a) deficit financing and (b) foreign assistance. It follows, therefore, that domestic resources have not contributed much. The Second Plan postulated 25% financial outlay through deficit financing, but we may end at 37 or 38%. In the first plan, it was 21.4% only. Only 21 to 22% is domestic finance so far. Public savings were minus in 1958-59. It is -36 crores in 1959-60.

7. Proceedings of the Seminar on Approach to the Third Five Year Plan, Page (13) (Planning Forum). It is bad enough, as is the case today, to allow income to be generated at all kinds of not easily traceable centres and then rely on locating and mobilising them from those places through taxes but it is worse still to argue that they should be left there.

Co-operative farming is an essential institutional change demanded by the situation of fragmented ownership of land. Income generated in this sector due to planned effort can neither be traced nor easily tapped. If co-operative farming is there, the saving-investment pattern of the agricultural economy which is our largest enterprise uneconomically dispersed, will become corporate. It will become easier both to locate income and tap it.

of the imbalance and leaving the idea of planning altogether. Neither of these is desirable or practicable. To leave things to drift as they have continued to do since long need not be the natural way. It may, however, be the lazy way. It is quite possible to argue the other way. In the context of planning, perhaps, this will be more natural.

RESOURCES FROM NEW TAX EFFORTS

Recent trends in public revenue and expenditure (see Table No. 2) will show that a good job has already been done in this respect and we should not hope to have very much from this source by stretching and manipulating it. We may not have, however, reached the last point in taxation.⁸ Perhaps there may still be scope there.

Table No. 2

TRENDS IN PUBLIC REVENUE & EXPENDITURE IN INDIA

(Figures are in 100 crores; fractions ignored)

ITEM	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59
1. Total Public Revenue	8.0	7.7	8.9	9.3	9.1	10.6	10.2
(i) Tax Revenue	6.5	6.1	7.0	7.2	7.1	8.2	7.9
(ii) Non-tax revenue	1.5	1.6	1.9	2.1	2.0	2.4	2.3
2. Total Public Expenditure	9.3	9.1	12.0	13.2	14.8	17.4	16.7
(i) Non-developmental (overall) of which	5.0	4.4	5.8	5.1	5.4	7.0	6.6
Defence only	1.9	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.5	2.4
(ii) Development	4.3	4.7	6.2	8.0	9.4	10.4	10.1

1. Revenue figures of the Centre and State Governments combined together.

2. Developmental Expenditure may be Plan-Developmental or Non-Plan developmental depending upon whether or not it is in or out of the Plan. Moreover, it does not take account of development expenditure on commitment account i.e. projects completed in the previous plan. Usually it refers to current expenditure on agriculture, irrigation, community projects, civil works, industries, forests, aviation, education, health, broadcasting, etc., capital outlay on schemes included in capital account, and loan and advances.

3. Non-developmental expenditure i.e. defence, debt services, general administration, police, administration of justice, stationary and printing, currency and mint, State trading and certain miscellaneous items which include the Planning Commission and the development wing of the Commerce Ministry.

There is some scope of manoeuvreability regarding excises, taxes on luxury and semi-luxury goods, sales tax etc. Similarly something can be said in favour of lowering the existing exemption limit of the

8. It is said that we have reached the last point of taxation. This is obviously a wrong expression because simultaneously income is also increasing. How can we say, therefore, that the last point has been reached. Resources, it has rightly been said, do not just exist—they become resources when they are tapped and put to use.

income tax. Perhaps a rationalisation of the system is needed by amending the Income tax Act in such a manner that, for purposes of this tax, income from agriculture is also taken into account.⁹

It is no use speculating how much we could get if there were no tax avoidance and evasion. This is anybody's guess. But there is no doubt that the loss to the State must be immense, specially today when the marginal value of each rupee not coming to the public exchequer is very high indeed. There is no doubt that administrative efficiency could minimise the losses on this account. But the fact is that the problem is more moral than administrative. Intimately connected with these issues is the question of lack of economy and efficiency in administration. These are common complaints. The difficulty is that there is hardly in existence any study which precisely points out the places of leakages and inefficiency. Moreover, the terms 'efficiency' and 'economy' act as standards which people apply. Naturally criteria regarding them differ with individuals and with the same individuals at different times. There are many studies on these subjects pertaining to Western countries but they may not be very useful except for comparative purposes. There is no doubt, however, that there is a lot waiting to be gained if the matter is properly pursued.^{9a}

From all these we can, at best, hope for a maximum of 1,500 crores of rupees during the plan period. But much of it, even if it comes, will be absorbed on current Commitment and Maintenance account. We cannot use it for fresh investment. Prof. Anjaria, speaking at the Annual Conference of University Planning Forums, said that he did not expect more than a sum of Rs. 1,000 crores from this source over the Plan period and added further that this sum would perhaps be required for meeting current expenditure on the Plan. For all practical purposes, therefore, so far as fresh investment for the Third Plan is concerned, this huge extra tax effort of Rs. 200 crores per year is as good as nonexistent.

We are, therefore, by sheer logic, left with finding out other ways and means to break the vicious circle which surrounds the problem of resource mobilisation. This we can do by attempting to change the existing saving-investment pattern in the country. How can this be done? In a planned economy this is possible only by extending the activities of public sector in several directions in a number

9. The imposition of ceilings on land holdings will take away some of the benefits of this.

9a. For instance something like the Third Cohen Report on prices, productivity and incomes. This committee of the Three Wise Men consisted of Lord Cohen of Walmer, a lawyer, Sir Harold Howitt, an accountant, and Prof. E. Phelps Brown, an economist of L.S.E. The report was out this month, August, 1959.

of ways.¹⁰ The pace of this expansion is a question of strategy in the context of political policy decisions, the desired rate of development and available administrative capacity. The expansion of such activities may be both direct and indirect ; direct, by assuming charge of economic activity and indirect, by widening and deepening the net of taxation and other fiscal and monetary measures. The price policy of public enterprise falls in both categories. It lies in the first category because it is direct state activity and in the second because a rise in price above cost has all the elements of an indirect tax.

MOBILISATION OF RURAL RESOURCES

A fruitful approach may be to look for resources from the rural sector. Table No. 3 gives the general picture of yield from the rural sector as percentage of the national income. Table No. 4 gives a picture of Land Revenue per capita per acre.

Table No. 3

NATIONAL INCOME

1952-53 :	Total : Rs. 10340 crores*	
	Rural Sector	69.68%
	Urban Sector	30.32%
1953-54 :	Total : Rs. 11040 crores	
	Rural Sector	70.70%
	Urban Sector	29.30%
1954-55 :	Total : Rs. 10230 crores	
	Rural Sector	66.38%
	Urban Sector	33.62%
1955-56 :	Total : Rs. 10670 crores	
	Rural Sector	65.86%
	Urban Sector	34.14%
1956-57 :	Total : Rs. 12090 crores	
	Rural Sector	69.29%
	Urban Sector	30.71%

10. Besides so many other things, this involves a broad extension of fiscal and monetary controls and pricing and distribution powers of the Government.

* Totals at current prices.

Table No. 4

LAND REVENUE PER CAPITA PER ACRE—1953-54

State	Agriculture population ¹ (in lakhs)	Land under cultivation ² (in lakhs of acres)	Per capita cultivated land (Acres)	Land revenue 1953-54 (R.E.) ³	Per Capita land revenue (Rs.)	Per acre land revenue (Rs.)
Assam	65	73	1.13	178	2.75	2.42
Bihar	258	275	1.06	285	1.10	1.03
Bombay	188	479	2.54	678	3.60	1.42
Madhya Pradesh	118	334	2.82	442	3.74	1.33
Madras	266	405	1.52	745	2.80	1.84
Orissa	98	140	1.43	98	1.00	0.70
Panjab	71	140	1.97	155	2.18	1.11
Uttar Pradesh	433	428	0.99	1891	4.37	4.42
West Bengal	112	129	1.15	135	1.21	1.05
All Part A States	1609	2403	1.49	4607	2.86	1.92
Hyderabad	95	370	3.89	480	5.04	1.30
Madhya Bharat	49	126	2.58	322	6.58	2.55
Mysore	57	104	1.81	118	2.06	1.14
PEPSU	22	50	2.30	97	4.46	1.94
Saurashtra	18	44	2.45	274	15.45	6.30
Rajasthan	104	336	3.24	282	2.72	0.84
Travancore-Cochin	32	28	0.88	63	1.96	2.23
All Part B States	377	1058	2.81	1636	4.34	1.55

1. Number of people in agricultural livelihood classes excluding cultivating labourers & their dependents according to 1951 census.

2. Provisional estimate of area under cultivation (including current fallows) for 1950-51 as available from "Agricultural Situation in India."

3. Excludes miscellaneous receipts and portion of land revenue due to irrigation and includes rates and cesses on land. For Madras, the budget estimate for the composite State of Madras is given. For Mysore, portion of land revenue payable to local bodies is also included. —Taxation Enquiry Commission report, Vol I, chap. V, pp. 77-78.

From the tables above, it is clear that there is enough scope of resource mobilisation from this sector. How much we can get from this source depends not only on rates and coverage but whether or not ultimately it would be politically and administratively possible to have as much as we expect as economists. The economic limits may prove

to be far bigger than the politico-administrative limits.¹¹ Let us illustrate it with reference to proposals put forward in respect of tax efforts from the rural sector.

At the Annual meeting of University Planning Forums (in December 1958)¹² it was argued that an additional sum of Rs. 300 crores per annum *i.e.* (Rs. 1500 crores over the Plan period) could be had from the rural sector. This was supposed to be had by (a) doubling the land tax on holdings above five acres; (b) a tax on agricultural rent (deducted at the source) in such a manner that incidence-effects fall on rent receivers. (It was said that it could be fixed at 1/10th of the gross produce of the tenants), and (c) surcharge on holdings above five acres under commercial crops. In this respect care was taken to add that room should be left for adjustments for different kinds of crops. If only one were not concerned with the total arrived at thus, there could be little to dispute about. In the context of the fact that 40% of the rise in income in the urban areas has since 1952-53 flowed into the public exchequer and only 15% or so from the rural sector, it is apparent why an element of elasticity and progression should be brought about in agricultural taxation. In some quarters a system of purchase tax on commercial crops is also being talked about. The questions which immediately arise, however, are the following:

- (a) Have the political parties of the country courage to go to the peasantry with heavy demands for State purposes?
- (b) Is administration well organised to do the job of collecting these taxes? (Taxes on animals, like goats etc.) The recommendations of the Ford Foundation Team are that such taxes are essential for forcing the people to dispose of useless cattle.
- (c) Are records ready of commercial and non-commercial crops under cultivation? Can these records be swiftly changed if substitution of crops takes place?
- (d) How effectively can we deal with tax dodgers?
- (e) To what extent can we prevent losses on account of corrupt tax darogas who may enter into some kind of an agreement with the assesseees?
- (f) If, suppose, the collection of these taxes is left in the hands of local bodies, are we sure of (c) and (d) above? More-

11. After all, we, as economists, must realise that the ultimate say in the matter lies outside the scope of our discipline. At the Ooty-seminar of the A.I.C.C. sub-committee on economic planning, a yield of Rs. 325 crores over the plan period was considered tentatively feasible. No firm decision has been taken thus far.

12. By Dr. K.N. Raj, Delhi University.

over, is it possible for us quickly to set up an adequate number of organisations for this purpose?

- (g) What positive system of incentives should be created to provide for raising agricultural output ?
- (h) And above all, would the trouble be worthwhile economically.
- (i) What would happen if the expected total did not materialise? Do we have alternative methods in readiness? If so, what are they?

Once we put these questions, the theoretical soundness of this kind of an approach begins to be thin. For the course of 5 years, instead of a sum of Rs. 1500 crores, if we could have even half of it, we should congratulate ourselves. In this context one often comes across platitudinous references to public participation. Here is the kingpin of the whole issue. If administration goes to the people for raising revenue in a really big way (Tax on horses, say, Rs. 1/8 per head, goats -/8/- per head, cows Rs. 2/- per head, surcharges on land revenue on different slabs rising up to, say, 600 p.c. or more) without being sure not only of firm political support but also of prior and continuous conditioning and training of the emotional responses of the peasantry in favour of the plan, it will find itself in an intractable mess.¹³

The problems referred to above should not be construed as suggesting a do-nothing policy in this respect. This was by way of pointing out the likely difficulties. It may, perhaps, be advisable to proceed cautiously by phasing the tax proposals in this sector over the period of the plan in such a manner that people do not get the impression that they are being driven very fast or they are at the bottom of the press. Even a lower yield, say, an extra 550 crores of rupees

13. The controversy regarding the Plan has started with the discussion on the place and role of co-operative farming. This time there are indications of more heat being generated. Since both politically and economically a lot depends upon what happens in the agricultural sector, the controversy regarding co-operative farming is full of all kinds of possibilities. The danger is that ideological involvement and even personal jealousies among politicians may lead to the displacement of objective economic reasoning. The discussion may be carried on in such an emotional context that poor reason may find it difficult to guide decisions.

The issue regarding public vs. private enterprise will remain vital. But this time private enterprise may try to fight its way better under cover of support to persons opposing the idea of co-operative farming.* Thus far private enterprise fought almost a lone battle. This time it may have a new ally. Moreover, in the previous plans opposition to public enterprise was more academic than real because the leaders of the private sector themselves recognised the usefulness and inevitability of State action for building up the infrastructure of the economy.

* See Forum of Free Enterprise publications on it since the Nagpur Congress passed the resolution on co-operative farming and Shri V.P. Menon's article on the Swatantra Party headed by Shri C. Rajagopalachari. The Statesman—15th August, 1959.

in all, should be considered an achievement.¹⁴ Perhaps, the Ooty Seminar projection of Rs. 325 crores is more realistic.

Manpower :

While talking about the rural sector what naturally strikes is to examine the possibilities of manpower utilisation.¹⁵ This technique of resource mobilisation for purposes of planning is the special contribution of Chinese planners who have shown that the existence of a large population in an underdeveloped economy suffering from resource scarcity, instead of being a slithering dead-weight, may be converted into the fly-wheel of progress. The limitations of democratic functioning notwithstanding, there is no reason why we could not mobilise this huge resource. Much depends upon the techniques of mass persuasion that we evolve. One method is to organise country-wise discussion on the Plan and a conscious adoption of policy to shed authority from the centre to functional centres.

This would require a change in the manner of the preparation of the Plan. The Third Plan should be divided in two broad categories—(a) National, and (b) Local. The first should be sub-divided into further groups, viz; (1) large-scale industries, (2) supply of infra-structural services *i.e.*, transport, communication, power, large irrigation projects etc., (3) aid and loans to agriculture and small-scale industries through State or other agencies, (4) welfare activities nationally undertaken, (5) trade and commercial activities. (6) price, credit and currency policies.

The Local Plan should be divided into three parts :—(1) State Plan, (2) Block Plan, and (3) Village Plan. The Village Plan should be drawn up at the village level in two groups : (a) schemes prepared by village panchayats and financed entirely by village resources ; (b) schemes in which the Block participates with the panchayat with money and know-how.

The responsibility for (3) will be that of the village panchayat and for (2) that of the Plan Executive Committee of the Block in which

14. Rs. 375 crores from surcharge on land revenue on holdings above 5 acres.

Rs. 40 crores on areas under commercial crops out of surcharge imposed after consideration of overall national policy requirements in respect of cotton, jute and sugar.

Rs. 75 crores profits from State Trading in foodgrains, if possible.

Rs. 60 crores tax on Live Stock excepting sheep, goat, pigs, donkeys and with a differentially lower rate on bullocks. A detailed description of the manner in which these figures have been arrived at forms another topic and therefore is not being given here. The author has prepared a separate note on resources in which the manner of arriving at the above figures has been described.

15. "Unlike China, we seem to have no capacity for mounting movements as distinguished from exhortative slogans, occasional bursts of enthusiasm and ephemeral campaigns." C.D. Deshmukh, *The Statesman*, 12 July, 1959.

each panchayat will be represented on some democratic basis. The Block will be, more or less, co-extensive with the Community Development Blocks assisted by a Secretary and a Financial Adviser appointed by State Government. Auditing of accounts at both levels will be done by Government auditors at Government cost. The Co-operative Services Society will supply such services to these units as lie within their jurisdiction.

The State Plan, besides showing the above schemes locally drawn up and approved by it finally, should be drawn up in two parts—(1) schemes entirely financed by State resources, and (2) schemes in which the Centre participates. For the first, the State should be responsible for execution and for the second agencies which may be entrusted to execute them.

The principal needs of agriculture are in respect of credit and irrigation available at such time and in such quantity as the cultivators need them. Priority of consideration, therefore, should be given to these. Grant of credit should be made on a yearly pay back basis with interest so that this fund ultimately acquires the nature of a revolving fund locally available. The only suitable agency for this is the co-operative. The initial advance of funds should come from the Reserve Bank of India. Additions to the fund could be made by floatation of village and block loans and advances from banks. Irrigation should be mainly financed through labour levy. The State should extend help in design making and in other matters requiring expert advice.

The above remarks are more suggestive than concrete and have been made here on the basis that it is high time problems were remitted to quarters to which they belonged for solution and thinking. This will generate the process of decentralisation.

There will be many mistakes here. But these mistakes should be counted towards costs of learning rather than wastes. Only avoidable wastes are dead losses in economics.

Labour levy¹⁶ :

A flat levy of, say, two hours of free labour per month per working population, whether employed or unemployed, could be levied by the State by legislation. This contribution may be either in the form of labour or cash representing the value of labour. For instance, suppose there is a person who earns Rs. 1,000 a month.

16. Panchayats have already some such power. But it would be better to have a uniformity and a national approach.

His daily wage will be about Rs. 33.33 nPs. per day. Let us say he works for 6 hours a day. If suppose he prefers to pay in cash, he will contribute Rs. 11 per month. In a year it will amount to Rs. 132. In five years his contribution will be Rs. 660. It is quite easy of realisation in government and registered and non-registered private establishments. The real trouble will be in the rural sector. There the labour-intensive programmes (small irrigation, contour bunding, road making and construction of community assets etc.) may be left in the charge of panchayats or such local bodies. Financial assistance from the Centre or the States should be made conditional to the realisation of the levy in cash or kind as the case may be. There should not be much opposition from political parties because such a levy would follow from the logic of resource scarcity and the need for patriotic effort for speed in the developmental direction without any inflationary implications whatsoever. The contribution from this source will be sizeable. The number of persons in the different age groups between 1 to 54 was as follows in 1951:

Table No. 5

<i>Age-group</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
1- 4	17,939,286	17,907,518	35,846,804
5-14	44,702,897	41,988,861	86,691,758
15-24	30,671,972	30,052,335	60,724,307
25-34	27,874,703	26,632,987	54,507,690
35-44	22,031,938	19,528,364	41,560,302
45-54	15,718,686	13,898,327	29,617,013
Total :			
1-54	158,939,482	150,008,392	308,947,874

The total number of persons was 30 crores and odd. People between the age group of 1-4 have been included because many of them would come in the work force during the Third Plan period. Assuming that we can cover a little over 50 per cent of this figure, we have 16 crores of people.¹⁷ As per our supposition every individual contributes only two hours in a month. This is not much to ask for. We have then a total demand of 24 hours per individual per annum. Multiplying it with the total we get 16 crores \times 24 = 384 crores of hours. Now suppose that a working day consists of six hours and payment per day is at the average rate of Rs. 2 per day. Then we have Rs. 128 crores worth of labour for one year *i.e.*, over the

17. An upward figure has been taken because in the category 1-4 there may be an underestimation. 0-1 figures have been left out.

whole period of the plan Rs. 640 crores. The figures are on the low side and extremely tentative. They are meant to be illustrative only. Official circles do not like to take credit for this sum on grounds of uncertainty. I differ. Unless we take credit for it we will never begin in a serious way.

National Savings and Life Insurance :

We could think of extending the activities of the Life Insurance Corporation to the villages in gradual stages. The National Savings drive could also be deepened and widened in the rural areas. It is very difficult precisely to say what the yields may be from these sources. But taken together they should yield about 500 to 600 crores of rupees over the plan period.¹⁸ These figures may be on the low side but they have been purposely kept so because the experience of the Second Plan in these respects has not been encouraging. It is unsafe to be very hopeful of market loans because a sizeable proportion of it will be taken by the private sector. This need not be regretted. After all, the national pool from which the state or the private sector takes is the same. All in all not more than 1000 to 1200 crores of rupees should be expected from these sources.

Price Policy of Public Undertakings :

There is the question of the manipulation of the pricing policy of public enterprises. Although this may be one of the most convenient points for the State to raise revenue from, it should be realised that it is one of the most sensitive points as well because a rise in price in this sector without reference to canons of economy and cost may lead to a general rise of prices. There are other weighty criticisms also. But, for purposes of this article, we are arguing that it is essential that they should earn profits so that the situation regarding the scarcity of resources may be eased. The two sources which generally attract attention in this respect are Rail and Road transport. The Masani Committee on Road transport (March 1959) indicated that there were 45,000 buses in the country. Buses and trucks compete with the railways. Any tax or surcharge that we levy on the one will have its reactions on the other. Therefore simultaneous taxation of both will have to be resorted to. In the lack of information regarding expected passenger and goods traffic during the Third Plan, expectations from this source would be anybody's guess. But even an addition of .25 nP per passenger and 1 nP per ton-mile should yield a considerable sum. Tentatively, we could

18. For lack of space, the manner of this calculation is not being given. There is something to be said in favour of Prize bonds as providing an inducement to save and invest.

place the extra yield at somewhere Rs. 413 crores of rupees per year.¹⁹ From steel, fertiliser and other industries in the public sector not much should be expected, firstly, because the government itself is one of the biggest customers and secondly because many of them have yet to get over their teething troubles. The L.I.C., the Finance Corporations and the Post Office hold better prospects. All in all from public enterprises we could expect Rs. 413 + 500 crores = 913. This includes savings on import account of steel etc.

Efforts could be made for mobilising gold reserves in the country. It is very difficult to say anything regarding the possible yield from this source mainly because it is fraught with many difficulties. It is not easy to persuade women not to wear ornaments. Apart from emotion and tradition, there is the question of economic security in the event of difficulty. In a country where social services and social security measures are notoriously deficient, it is difficult to see how women would easily leave their love for gold. In the case of big hoards, perhaps, something could be said. In any case, it would be idle to expect anything significant from this source. There are many more feasible things which one can think of.

Surcharge on Sale of Lands whose Value has increased due to Planning :

In areas near industrial estates, irrigation sites, new sub-divisional towns, municipal areas, big cities, capital towns, old and new industrial areas, holiday resorts and railway stations etc., value of land has gone up fantastically. There is no reason why 60% of this increase should not go to the State. In fact, Henry George and his followers²⁰ widely propagated that this was one of the easiest methods for bringing about a socialist society. The increase in land value in the above cases is entirely due to community effort and, therefore, should go to the State. In some cases the State could straightaway acquire lands and sell them at remunerative price. If, however, this is considered to be an extreme measure, there should be no hesitation in imposing a surcharge to the extent of 60%. The administrative difficulties will not be many because the surcharge could be realised from persons who sold

19. This figure is based on the present statistics regarding bus and railway passengers and ton-miles done.

Passenger miles (in million) during 1956-57: according to statistical abstract	42,194.0
Expected increase of 10% by 1961:	4,219.4
Therefore total passenger miles	46,413.4
Net ton miles (millions)	40,225.0
Expected increase 10%	4,022.5

Total ton-miles: 44,247.5

Bus passenger miles (average of 61-66) 47,100.0

Goods traffic by road in ton miles (average of 61-66) 15,000.0

All passenger miles @ .25 nP and all ton miles @ 1 nP. Figures of five years have been calculated above.

20. Single Tax movement.

the land at the time of the registration of the sale deed. No figures are available with us regarding such sales at the moment of writing. But there is no doubt that gains to the exchequer from this source would run into millions during the Plan period.

There is something to be said in favour of Prof. Shenoy's idea regarding the sale of import licences to the highest bidders. The implications of this deserve examination. Export earnings could also be increased by various means. Apart from the traditional exports of raw materials, like jute goods, tea, etc., the sale of fancy cottage goods to the fashion conscious centres of the world, and finished engineering and electrical goods to the growing markets in Yugoslavia, the Middle East and South East Asia could be expanded further.²¹

CONCLUSIONS

(1) The problem of resource scarcity is not going to be a special phenomenon for the Third Plan. It will only be a continuation of the present.

(2) The determination of the contents of the Plan should precede overall target setting regarding the requirement of resources.

(3) The search for resources must proceed source-wise and in concrete terms.

(4) A few fresh taxes have been suggested.²²

(5) While we should try to mobilise a total sum of Rs. 10,000 crores for the Third Plan, we must, simultaneously, go on trying to see whether a rise of 6 p.c. in national income that we are aiming at could not be achieved with a lesser amount. We can have it by various ways : for example: (a) intensive utilisation of available investment resources in such schemes as yield quick returns, (b) patience in respect of non-income-generating welfare measures, (c) increasing productivity per worker per man-hour, and (d) adopting a price policy that does not

21. Of utmost importance are the following considerations : (a) production cost should be decreased so that competitive power could be gained. This need not mean cutting wage rates; increased productive efficiency is the answer; (b) quality production should be stressed and assured, (c) deficiencies on account of the lack of dynamic outlook and the capacity to adapt swiftly to changing policy of rival producers should be made up as quickly as possible. The State Trading Corporation is not an adequate answer; (d) consumption-imports must be ruthlessly curtailed, and (e) agriculture must yield at least 110 million tons of food.

22. Tentative totals are:—

	Maximum
1. New Taxation	1500
2. Land Revenue	550
3. Manpower	640
4. National Savings and L.I.C. etc. and market loans	1000
5. Rail and Road passenger and freight	913
Total	4603

The above is an approximation only.

allow consumption to increase above 4 or 5 p.c. over the plan period.

(6) Stress may be laid on surcharge on sale of lands and manpower utilisation.

(7) A whole set of simultaneous equations is required to be formulated so as to find out the inter-relationship of economic policies adopted. (Are all relevant data available?) Not only this, simultaneous adjustment of the administrative machine also must take place all along the line.

(8) Efforts must begin from now to evoke organised public participation in developmental effort. This can be done by making people work and pay for it. One prerequisite for spreading the net of discussion wide enough is that it should reach all work and thought centres. The results of these discussions should be given due consideration in the context of the overall picture.

(9) Planning should provide opportunities to people to become more construction-conscious. The community development programme missed the bus just here. The organisation of voluntary labour efforts, establishment of co-operatives, construction of community assets in the villages and activities of this sort differ fundamentally from activity in the large scale industrial sector. An altogether different kind of mind and type of organisation is needed. Administration, as it is organised now, is neither emotionally nor intellectually trained for this. We have so far relied on piecemeal *ad hoc* improvisation in this respect. This will simply not do.^{2 3}

(10) People should, at no time, be given cause to feel that they are being driven to pre-determined destinations through an emotionally alien and incomprehensible power known as bureaucracy. Patronisation is no substitute for participation and helpless obedience is no substitute for willing co-operation. This requires a conscious policy of decentralised administration. The Community Development Administration has not succeeded very much in creating local leadership to replace officials. The panchayats, the co-operative services societies, the co-operative farms and other such functional local authorities, which may be created, must have both power and responsibility, for in the lack of these leadership can not thrive. These are essential requirements for publicly accountable and efficient conduct. Although action in this respect must be taken only gradually and in a cautious manner, authorities should not develop cold feet at a few cases of failure. These failures, if they are few in number, should be entered not on waste but on cost account for learning the job.

23. Administrative implications of a plan of the dimension of the third Plan will be many. They have not been spelled out here because the present article was only indirectly concerned with them.

PUBLIC ENTERPRISES : PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OR ACCOUNTABILITY ?*

David C. Potter

IN an inaugural address to the Political Science Conference at Hyderabad in 1951, His Excellency Sardar K. M. Panikkar challenged Indian Political Scientists in the following manner :

We have to discover the nature and extent of popular authority over autonomous statutory bodies set up by the State to administer great enterprises started in the public interest but run on commercial principles. We have to consider and determine how far parliamentary control can be reconciled with efficiency in large scale enterprise which every modern State seems to undertake in some form or another. These are matters properly entitled to your serious consideration.¹

The above challenge to political and administrative ingenuity, despite some recent thoughtful consideration and discussion, still remains to be met. The so-called "nub" of the Sardar's proposition turns on the nature and extent of the relationship between the "autonomous" enterprises and the popular authority as represented in the Indian Parliament. This relationship is one of accountability and/or control. The concepts of parliamentary control, the accountability of public enterprises to Parliament, and their autonomy, are mutually inter-related, but at the same time quite distinct from each other. Some writers and most parliamentarians find it an easy thing to use the terms accountability and control interchangeably. Strictly speaking, accountability involves receiving accounts, statistics and reports while control is a function of giving stimulus, guidance and restraint. Any confusion here tends to be confounded in that, as one writer correctly puts it, "accountability—the rendering of an account—necessarily involves some control if it is not to be an empty formality".² This is not a contradiction in terms if examined closely. The following assessment neatly sorts out the concept of control as coterminous with the definition of accountability :

*Based on research, by the writer, undertaken at the I.I.P.A. for Master's thesis for the University of California (Berkeley).

1. K.M. Panikkar, "Inaugural Address to the Political Science Conference at Hyderabad, on December 27, 1951," *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, XIII (January-March, 1952), p. 14.

2. H.A. Clegg, *Industrial Democracy and Nationalization*. A study prepared for the Fabian Society (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1951), p. 41.

Parliament has an unlimited general power of control in that it can alter the law; but it has no specific power of control, as distinct from its right to receive an account. On the other hand, it has far more opportunity than a body of shareholders to express its views, its criticisms, its apprehensions, even its confidence and satisfaction if it should come to entertain these feelings; and it would be wrong to suppose that such expressions have no influence, merely because the sanction behind them is an unwieldy one.³

In terms of this definition, we can chart the theoretical "chain of command", so to speak, from the shareholders to the boards of directors of the public enterprises. The people are the shareholders and, in a democratic framework, the Members of Parliament are their representatives and reflect the will of their separate constituencies which, in sum, reflects the will of a country as a whole. The ultimate authority over the public enterprises is placed in the hands of the elected Members of Parliament. But Parliament is too big, too inexperienced and too busy to successfully govern individual projects under its jurisdiction. It is the Ministers who have *specific* powers of control over the public enterprises and the degree to which the accountability of the enterprise to the people is successful rests on the degree to which the Ministers are accountable to the Members. The Minister controls, and is, in turn, accountable to Parliament which represents the people, the final authority.

The Minister should be able to control. In India, he does so. Executive control over corporations is formally established in much the same manner as is done in Britain. The proviso in the Air Corporations Act, 1953 [section 34(1)], is typical: "The Central Government may give to either of the Corporations directions as to the exercise and performance by the Corporation of its functions, and the Corporation shall be bound to give effect to any such directions." In point of fact, control over both public corporations and government companies is mainly exercised in informal ways. A former Minister of Finance quite frankly admitted, on the floor of the Lok Sabha, his informal financial control over the decisions of the boards of the public enterprises, in a surprising statement :

There is an act of self-abnegation here. However, certain patterns are being evolved and where for the sake of facility of administration or for the elimination of red tape, we invest that

3. Sir Joeffrey Vickers, "The Accountability of Nationalised Industry", *Public Administration*, XXX (Spring, 1952), p. 80.

body, may be a company or a corporation, with financial powers, certain precautions are taken. One precaution which is invariably taken is that the financial representative at a very high level is attached to that concern as a director. Now when he exercises his powers, *although it is not said so in so many words that everything shall be done with his concurrence, in practice that result is bound to follow.* Because, if he is overruled, well, then he can report the matter to the Ministry of Finance and the Minister of Finance can take up the matter with the corporation and move Government to make the necessary changes which will ensure that financial advice is taken.⁴

The convention in India at present is that the boards of directors of central government companies and public corporations are heavily laden with ministerial and Indian civil service appointees. The evidence here is clear. The Indian Institute of Public Administration's study on public enterprises in India gives names and titles of the members of the boards of directors of nine of the public corporations and 35 of the government companies.⁵ Their study shows that the Ministry of Finance is represented on seven of the ten boards of directors of the public corporations.

Similarly, the Government of India is well represented on the nine corporations' boards examined. The same situation exists in respect of the boards of directors of the government companies with the Ministry of Finance represented by its senior officers in 30 of the more important companies in the public sector. What this means is that control by a minister over any important decision by the board of directors of a particular "autonomous" public enterprise in India is virtually absolute because the personnel in each case are largely one and the same. This would seem to violate the conception of "autonomy", and yet, the public corporations and government companies were set up largely with this premise in mind. The justification for maintaining this arrangement has been stated in most significant terms : "It is clearly not feasible to give a completely free hand to the management in view of the responsibility and accountability of the Minister to Parliament."⁶

4. C.D. Deshmukh made this statement during the course of the debate in the Lok Sabha on "Parliamentary Control of Public Corporations": House of the People, *Parliamentary Debates*, Part II, Vol. X (December 10, 1953), col. 1922. (Italics by the writer).

5. *Administrative Problems of State Enterprises in India*—Report of a Seminar, December, 1957 (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1958), Appendixes IV and V.

6. Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, *Office Memorandum No. F. 20 (79)—P/55*, (dated 13th March, 1957) as stated in Estimates Committee's, *Nineteenth Report* (Second Lok Sabha) (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1958), p. 25, col. 4.

II

Since the Minister controls the public enterprise, the enterprise, as well as the Minister in charge of it, should account to Parliament if they are to be "public" in the true spirit of the word. But also, in view of the definition of accountability, Parliament must retain the right to exercise *ultimate* control over the public enterprises if accountability is not to be an empty formality. It can be stated unequivocally that Parliament's constitutional right to pass statutory Acts, to amend statutory Acts and to pass Acts and/or amendments which apply to public enterprises assures its ultimate control over the enterprises. Every public corporation has been established by an Act of Parliament and every government company is regulated by the provisions of the Companies Act, 1956. Only Parliament is capable of amending these Acts. Legally, then, the ultimate authority over the public enterprises properly rests in the hands of the voting Members of Parliament. Once the public enterprises have been established by or have become subject to an Act of Parliament, it is essential, in lieu of the very meaning of accountability, that Parliament be continually cognizant of the working of the enterprises in order to be assured that they are acting in accordance with the provisions of the Act and in the interests of national policy. In short, if public enterprises are to be accountable to Parliament, Parliament must be continuously well-informed about them. For Parliament, any less would make accountability meaningless; any more would be a transgression of its proper role of authorizing policy rather than implementing it. It is with this in mind that the various methods by which Parliament holds a public enterprise and the Minister-in-charge accountable must be examined. It is on the basis of this that it is argued below that the accountability of Indian Public enterprises to Parliament is defective.

For it is clear that Members of Parliament are not well-informed about the public enterprises; the budget documents are a case in point. The Central Government is expected to spend over Rs. 500 crores in the Second Plan period on industrial enterprises in the public sector and the impact of this expenditure on the national economy is bound to be significant. It is both necessary and desirable for Parliament to debate the financial requirements of the public enterprises while approving the budget. Most government companies and public corporations are financed initially by money drawn against the Consolidated Fund of India. Parliament must sanction money from this fund.⁷ The Comptroller & Auditor-General of India has declared that "when a new

7. *The Constitution of India* (as modified up to 1st April 1958), Articles 204 (3) and 266 (3).

company is to be formed, a demand for grant for its financial requirements is placed before the House, thus affording it an opportunity of discussing the investment and the form it is proposed to be made.”⁸

Also, in referring to public corporations in India, the Joint Secretary of the Lok Sabha Secretariat has maintained that “the loans and investments made by Government are included in the budget of the State.”⁹ On the other hand, the Estimates Committee has found that the annual budgets of the public enterprises, “with perhaps the solitary exception of D.V.C., are not made available to Parliament.”¹⁰ Clearly, Parliament is responsible for the money lent to the undertaking and should have all the information relating to their working necessary to exercise that responsibility. The position at present, however, is that “the Explanatory Memoranda accompanying the Budget contain a statement showing the investment made in these bodies and that proposed to be made during the Budget year, and also contain the balance sheet and profit and loss accounts of some of the enterprises, but not all.”¹¹ For example, the Explanatory Memoranda for the 1958-59 Budget gave accounts for 17 enterprises although the number of enterprises at that time exceeded 45.¹² The inadequacy of the budget documents on the public enterprises has found expression in several recommendations by the Estimates Committee in their 20th Report :

Industrial Undertakings should prepare a performance and programme statement for the budget year together with the previous year’s statement and it should be made available to the Parliament at the time of the annual budget.

These bodies might also be encouraged to prepare business-type budgets which would be of use to Parliament at the time of the budget discussions.

The latest accounts and balance sheets as well as the annual reports should be made available to Parliament at the same time.

The separate volume for each Ministry and Department, incorporating the budget and portions from the Explanatory Memoranda and Annual Reports, should also include a separate

8. Asok Chanda, *Indian Administration* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), p. 199.

9. S.L. Shakdher, *Budgetary System in Various Countries*, (New Delhi : printed privately, 1957), p. 106.

10. Estimates Committee, *Twentieth Report*, (1958), p. 13.

11. Estimates Committee, *Loc. cit.*, p. 13.

12. *Consult Government of India, Explanatory Memorandum on a Budget of the Central Government for 1958-59* (as laid before Parliament), Appendix to Section III, pp. ii-clxxxix.

chapter containing the above information and documents in respect of all undertakings which are related to the Ministry concerned.

It would be desirable to bring out a consolidated volume containing the documents mentioned above for all the statutory bodies and private limited companies of Government containing an appreciation of their working and their net result on the budget.

To facilitate the understanding of all the activities of the public enterprises it would be desirable that they should have a common financial year, namely the same as that of the Government.¹³

These recommendations serve to underscore the fact that the presentation and organization of data in connection with the Annual Budget of India are not conducive to informed debate on the public enterprises except by those few M.P.s who either already possess knowledge on the enterprises or who have developed an appetite for detailed study of them. The paucity of direct references to the public enterprises in the 1958-59 budget session supports this contention. For example, the six demands for grants in respect of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry were debated for over six hours.¹⁴ This Ministry is responsible for 18 government companies, and yet, almost no mention was made of those companies. The reason is not far to seek. The budgets of these companies were not made available to parliamentarians. Indeed, the administrative report of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry was still under print when the demands for grants were debated.¹⁵ One must conclude that the debate of the finances of the Indian public enterprises, at present, is deficient, due to lack of information.

Accounts and reports are the raw materials of accountability. Happily, every public enterprise in India is required by law to submit annual reports to Parliament. The government companies have recently been obliged to perform this function by virtue of Article 639(1) of the Companies Act, 1956, which states : "The Central Government shall cause an annual report on the working and affairs of each government company to be prepared and laid before both Houses of Parliament together with a copy of the audit report and comments upon, and supplement to, the audit report made by the Comptroller & Auditor-General of India". In like manner, each

13. Estimates Committee, *Loc. cit.*, p. 30.

14. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XIII (19 March 1958) cols. 5633-5758 ; *Ibid.* cols. 5842-5986.

15. *Ibid.*, cols. 5634-5635.

statute establishing a public corporation in India contains a clause which requires that annual reports be submitted to Parliament.¹⁶ An exhaustive survey reveals that, contrary to prevailing opinion, all the public corporations and all but one of the government companies are now forwarding annual reports or statements to Parliament.¹⁷ All these reports are "laid on the table of the House" and copies, therefore, are available at the Publications Desk for scrutiny by Members. Few reports are discussed on the floor of the House. Interested Members may read them, though, and bring matters in connection with them before the House by asking parliamentary questions, by introducing motions and resolutions and while debating relevant bills. Quite recently, the reports have been placed in the Parliament Library within easy reach of even the most casual visitor.¹⁸ And yet, the tendency is still for the reports to circulate closely within governmental circles and eventually to gather dust in the Parliament Library. Although the majority of them are printed, now, they are not, in most cases, on public sale. If accountability by means of budget documents suffers because of non-availability, submission of annual reports is limited in effectiveness due to lack of quality. The following assessment of annual reports by British nationalized industries would seem to have universal application :

The Board is quite consciously showing off its paces before the public, justifying its way in front of a highly critical audience. It has no intention whatever of revealing failures and inefficiencies; on the contrary, it is desperately anxious to cover them up. Things that have gone wrong are not mentioned, concealed behind vague, bromidic generalisations and ascribed to the impact of forces over which the industry concerned has no control. To say this is not to condemn the Report as worthless or the Board as hypocritical. All it means is that people who are attacked have a natural tendency to defend themselves. But it

16. *Consult* Air Corporations Act, 1953, section 37(2), Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948 (section 45(5)), Employees State Insurance Act, 1948, (section 36), Agricultural Produce (Development and Warehousing) Corporation Act, 1956, section 42 (4), Life Insurance Corporation Act, 1956 (section 29), Industrial Finance Corporation Act, 1948 (as modified up to 1st April 1956), section 35(3), and the Rehabilitation Finance Administration Act, 1948 (section 18(2)). The Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 (as modified up to 1st November 1956) requires that reports and accounts be submitted to the Central Government [(section 52(2))] and they are published in the official Gazette weekly [(section 53(1))] and annually (section 53(2)); the State Bank of India Act, 1955 requires essentially the same procedure under section 40.

17. There is no report from the National Instruments (Private) Ltd. in the Parliament Library. Cf. Parmanand Prasad, *Some Economic Problems of Public Enterprises in India* (Leiden: H.E. Stenfort Kroese N.V., 1957), p. 188 : "The Companies do not submit reports to Parliament ..."

18. The reports are now on one shelf in the same room as the card catalogue. The Library was moved in the fall of 1958 to more spacious quarters in what was formerly the precinct of the Indian Supreme Court.

implies that one can hardly expect an objective appraisal of the performance of a nationalised industry from its annual report, and it is unreasonable to look for one.¹⁹

The reports of the ministries are easily accessible and more widely used by parliamentarians. If the ministerial reports on the two airlines corporations are representative examples, then this avenue of accountability is unusually deficient.²⁰ For example four reports have essentially the same first sentence : "civil aviation in India continued to make steady progress during (1954-55) (1956-57), (registered good progress during 1955-56), (maintained steady progress during 1953-54)". The following uninformative paragraph in the 1957-58 Report is identical to one on page 25 of the Indian Airlines Corporation's 4th Annual Report of the previous year :

The Labour Relations Committee constituted under section 41 of the Air Corporations Act, 1953 held eight meetings during the period under review. The activities of the Committee proved helpful in promoting better understanding between the management and the employees and contributed toward the solution of a number of problems.

In the 1955-56 report there is no mention of the known fact that the Indian Airlines Corporation lost a substantial amount of money, although it sets down that the Air-India International Corporation made a nice profit. The 1956-57 Report does not even refer to the two important reports done by the Estimates Committee on the airlines corporations (Nos. 41 and 43). One periodical commented : "As the investigations carried out by the Estimates Committee during the period under review must be regarded as an event of vital importance to civil aviation in India, it is remarkable that the Minister has passed this civil aviation report for publication with such a glaring and obvious omission."²¹ One final example shows gross carelessness in reporting. The following paragraph appears in the Ministry of Transport and Communications' Annual Report 1956-57 :

Two meetings of the Facilitation Committee, a committee for simplifying procedures and formalities with a view to facilitating air transport, established by the Civil Aviation Department were held during 1956-57. Representatives of

19. A.H. Hanson, "Report on the Reports : The Nationalised Industries, 1950-51," *Public Administration*, XXX (Summer, 1952), pp. 112-113.

20. The four reports which form the basis of this conclusion are the following : Ministry of Communications, *Report, 1954-55*; Ministry of Communications, *Report, 1955-56*; Ministry of Transport and Communications, *Report, 1956-57*; Ministry of Transport and Communications, *Report, 1957-58*.

21. *Indian Skyways* (July, 1957), p. 9.

foreign airlines, the A.I.I., the I.A.C., the Ministries of Communications, Finance (Revenue Department), Health and Transport and of the D.G. of C.A. participated in these meetings. Problems relating to health, immigration and customs clearance were discussed at the meetings with a view to simplifying the procedure and eliminating avoidable formalities.

If one merely changes the dates in the above paragraph from "1956-57 to 1957-58", one has the Ministry's comment on this committee for the next year. It need hardly be pointed out that at the time both these reports were published, the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Communications were not even in existence. They had been combined into a Ministry of Transport and Communications, as the titles of the reports clearly indicate. The standard of reporting in India badly needs improvement. For the present, accountability of Indian public enterprises to Parliament in this manner seems to be limited in effectiveness.

III

In the absence of suitable information being provided, the natural and, in many ways, commendable reaction has been that parliamentarians have actively sought information through other channels—an activity which tends to encroach upon the "autonomy" of the public enterprises. The Question Hour is a case in point. Admittedly, a real effort is made to disallow questions which inquire into the day-to-day administration of the undertakings. A recent directive from the Speaker's office clarifies this position :

It is stated for the information of Members that broadly speaking, admissibility of questions relating to statutory corporations and limited companies in which Government have financial or controlling interest is regulated generally in the following manner on the merits of each case :

- (i) where a question (a) relates to a matter or policy or (b) refers to an act or omission of an act on the part of a Minister, or (c) raises a matter of public interest, although seemingly it may pertain to a matter of day-to-day administration or an individual case, it is ordinarily admitted for oral answer.
- (ii) A question which calls for information of statistical or descriptive nature is generally admitted as unstarred.
- (iii) Questions which clearly relate to day-to-day administration and tend to throw work on the ministries and the

corporations incommensurate with the result to be obtained therefore are normally disallowed.²²

But although this sifting may take place in the Secretariat, no such effort in this direction is being attempted on the floor of the House. The supplementary questions probe deeply into the administration of the "autonomous" enterprises, even though the initial question may have been judged admissible and within the jurisdiction of the Minister to whom it was addressed. The Minister is completely within his right to refuse to answer supplementaries which inquire into matters which are the concern of the board of directors. Indeed, to answer such question is to accept by implication responsibility for decisions over which he does not have any specified control. It would not improve this situation if the Minister were advised to parry every supplementary which he considered to be beyond his responsibility, for such a course would serve only to heighten distrust on the part of the Members. On the other hand, it would be politically unrealistic to instruct Members to withhold questions which infringed on the "autonomy" of the public enterprises. The Speaker, however, is in a position to intervene during Question Hour and disallow supplementaries of this nature. He should be especially vigilant in this regard.

The actions of the financial committees of the Indian Parliament are even more glaring proof of the tendency on the part of parliamentarians to move from their proper role of receiving reports and accounts to one of attempting to stimulate, guide and restrain the "autonomous" enterprises. A random example from one of the reports of the Public Accounts Committee reveals this tendency. In examining the accounts of one government company (Indian Telephone Industries Ltd.) for the year 1950-51 in their Tenth Report (First Lok Sabha), the Committee found, among other things, that about Rs. 95 lakhs of public money had been spent indiscriminately on stock which was not being used. They argued that this showed lack of proper planning and foresight and recommended that disciplinary action be taken against the official at fault. And the Chairman of the Estimates Committee has quite proudly admitted that "while examining the undertakings... the Committee made no attempt to exclude any aspect of their working from its purview merely on considerations of their autonomy..."²³ The following analysis suggests the effectiveness of the Committee :

22. *Bulletin*, Part II (New Delhi : Lok Sabha Secretariat, November 18, 1958), pp. 1431-1432, para. 2005. The Speaker called attention to this directive during the course of a parliamentary question on the State Trading Corporations: *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. X (September 17, 1958), cols. 6837-6838.

23. Balvantray Mehta, "Public Enterprises and Parliamentary Control", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, IV (April-June, 1958), p. 148.

Analysis of the Action taken by the Government of India on the
Recommendations contained in four Reports of the Estimates
Committee (First Lok Sabha) on the Public Enterprises

Results of Inquiry	13th Report	16th Report	22nd Report	27th Report
Total No. of recommendations made	50	23	30	40
Recommendations accepted fully by the Government—				
No.	20	6	9	13
% of total	40%	26.1%	30%	32½%
Recommendations accepted by the Government partly or with some modifications—				
No.	4	7	3	4
% of total	8%	30.4%	10%	10%
Recommendations not accepted by the Government but replies in respect of which have been accepted by the Committee—				
No.	18	..	6	4
% of total	36%	..	20%	10%
Recommendations not accepted by the Committee (including those which are still under consideration by the Government)—				
No.	8	10	12	19
% of total	16%	43.5%	40%	47%

We may conclude from the above data that over 30% of the recommendations, of the Committee, on public enterprises, have been generally accepted by the Government, that a substantial percentage of recommendations are not accepted, and therefore, most significantly, that there is real and continuous discussion and argument about the enterprises between the central Ministries and the Estimates Committee.

The recommendations contained in the Estimates Committee's reports vary between matters of general financial improvement and matters of detail. Two consecutive recommendations in one report tend to the extreme in each instance, but they serve to make the point :

In view of the general financial position of the (Nahan) Foundry, no large capital investment should be made so long as the new items of manufacture are in the experimental stage.

The rollers of the Sultan Cane Crusher should be made of a bigger diameter, as the size of the roller directly affects the crushing capacity.²⁴

If this trend towards too much probing is not watched and restrained, the effective operation of the public enterprises, which are generally held to be "crucial" by the Indian Government, will be jeopardized.²⁵

IV

With Parliament taking such a keen interest in certain enterprises, the tendency is that decision-making is bunched in the hands of the Minister, who retains it in order to authoritatively counter criticism. The heavy concentration of representatives of the ministries on the boards of directors is the clearest example of this situation. The failure to invest a large degree of autonomy in decision-making at the level of the board of directors defeats the very purposes for which the companies and corporations were designed. It is a dictum of human nature that men muster a defence when attacked. It is therefore understandable that ministers are reluctant to delegate responsibility when they are continually criticized for failure to effect detailed policy for which they are assumed to be responsible. To break this vicious circle will require statesmanship of the highest order, not merely on the part of the minister but equally on the part of the parliamentarian. For although both may be acting honourably to perform their functions as completely as the situation allows, the result of over-zealous performance of duty in this case is a concentration of decision-making at the top, an over-burdening of an already over-worked Government and a neglect of the lower echelons in the administrative hierarchy who ought, rightly, to make the great bulk of the decisions.²⁶

Stepping further in this line of thought, the concentration of decision-making at the top results in proliferation of controls in the hands of the administrator and the legislator in order that each may

24. Estimates Committee, *Thirteenth Report* (First Lok Sabha), Appendix IV, p.42.

25. The term "crucial" in this context is present in the Second Five Year Plan. (p. 51).

26. Professor Paul Appleby has argued: "In number, at least 90 per cent of the decisions necessary to the conduct of a large enterprise would be made below the level of the Managing Director." See his report *Re-Examination of India's Administrative System with Special Reference to Administration of Government's Industrial and Commercial Enterprises*. (New Delhi : Cabinet Secretariat, 1956), p. 58.

strengthen its defence to carry on the "cold war" in New Delhi. This heightens distrust between the two, resulting in unnecessary effort to an unnecessary cause to which the parties concerned can ill-afford to devote their busy time-schedules. Perhaps most importantly, to divest the enterprises themselves of needed powers to carry on their business functions is to jeopardize dangerously their chances of success. The need to obtain prior permission for any action of consequence from persons obviously less involved in the daily functioning of specialized commercial and business concerns tends to paralyze business management attempting to succeed in a new and experimental field of business endeavour. The chances are that competent business personnel would seek employment elsewhere. India is short of this commodity. Yet Indian public policy demands rapid industrialisation which of necessity depends on a public sector to initiate key industries due to lack of private capital. I submit that the deficiency in the accountability relationship is one of the principal culprits in this *malaise*.

And it should be one of the easiest to eradicate. The accountability devices must be improved. Implementation of the Estimates Committee's recommendations (given above) would move smartly towards solving the deficiencies in the budget documents so that Members might appreciate both what the enterprises are doing and how they are doing it in order to understand their problems and authorize their financial requirements on the basis of accurate information. Annual reports by both the public enterprises and the ministries concerned can be written more attractively, objectively and comprehensively. They must be.

V

There is a *vital* distinction between accountability and control vis-a-vis the "autonomous" public enterprises. The term "parliamentary control" is a misnomer, except in its ultimate sense. Control at this level is (or should be) like the blade at the top of the guillotine; it need *not* fall to be politically effective. However, Parliament *must* be openly accounted to in order that it may authorize policy so that, democratically, the Minister can implement it. By properly delineating the concepts of accountability to Parliament and of ministerial control, the tight knot which these relationships find themselves in at present might be loosened. In short, if the *accountability* to Parliament is improved along the lines suggested, the desire on the part of Members of Parliament to *control* will abate. Effort in this direction will also relieve the elements of distrust in these relationships. Distrust thrives in ignorance. To account properly is to inform confidently.

THE TRAFFIC PROBLEM AND THE CITY GOVERNMENT

Tejbir Khanna

WITH the scientific achievements in every field and general economic progress of the country living standards are rising. The rising living standards are showing the increasing impact on transportation demands, both in urban and non-urban areas.

The rising transportation demands in urban areas are being met with added number of vehicles, both modern and slow type. Traffic volumes in urban areas are increasing so rapidly that even our present-day traffic requirements have far outstripped the existing facilities.

While gains to the public from motor vehicles are immeasurable losses due to traffic jams and accidents are already showing signs of outweighing them in urban areas of India, particularly in Bombay, Calcutta, and Delhi.

THE PROBLEM IS GROWING WORSE

There are about 450,000 motor vehicles in India to which about 35,000 more are being added every year. The annual production of one million cycles is also showing its significance in the urban areas. Bullock-carts are being added at the estimated rate of about 200,000 to the already existing 9 million in India. A fairly high percentage of bullock-carts travelling to the urban areas for trade purposes further aggravate the road traffic problem in cities.

Road accident rate is high in India. There are about 70 deaths per ten thousand motor vehicles as compared to 16 and 8 in the U.K. and the U.S.A. respectively. Road accidents in urban areas are rising sharply. In Delhi, for instance, there have been about 70% more accidents in the year 1957 as compared to the year 1956.

The traffic problem, when viewed in the correct perspective, is already serious in urban areas of India.

But this is only a foretaste of what is coming ahead.

The traffic problem itself is not new. What is new about it is its growing magnitude and significance.

The traffic problem is growing fast. What is not growing as fast is the awareness of the problem both on the part of the public and the government. But there is hardly any doubt regarding the interest of the public and government in improving the traffic conditions.

As experienced in the western countries, the virus of traffic congestion and accidents which makes the road transport sick also undermines the entire urban area, causing disintegration of the city, diffusion of major tax sources and disruption of the whole municipal economics.

The ultimate measure of the importance of the traffic problem in a community must be in terms of their costs. The measurable costs of accidents, wrecked vehicles and other property damage, hospitalization, lost wages and earnings, higher insurance premiums, loss of business and tax revenue etc. are visible and serious. What is not so visible and is even more serious is the immeasurable costs of chain reaction from accident fatalities, crippling and suffering in terms of broken homes, bereaved parents, orphaned children and their impact on the community and city as a whole.

Improvement in traffic conditions would mean better living conditions and continued economic growth of cities which otherwise is not possible.

The traffic problem affects every one in the city. It is no more an individual's problem. It is a problem of the community and of the city administration.

City administration has to recognize now (i) that the traffic problem is one of the most critical problems facing the ever-growing urban areas of India; (ii) that the free flow of people and goods is essential to preserve the integrity of cities; (iii) that future wealth of cities depends upon the success in solving the ever-growing traffic problem; (iv) that corrective action must be taken at the local level by the city administration. Incidentally it may be mentioned here that very often the problem extends beyond the unrealistic political boundaries and is regional in scope. This is especially true in metropolitan areas where the central city must assume the leadership and work with other cities to develop an integrated and long-range plan for traffic improvements.

CASE OF DELHI AS A MODEL CITY

Now to see more clearly the problem and the desired solution Delhi traffic is discussed in the following few lines:

Traffic Conditions

Traffic conditions in Delhi seem to be something out of "Alice in Wonderland" but not nearly half as funny. A short glance at Delhi traffic conditions reveals that—

1. All over the town parking practices are unsatisfactory.
2. Some city areas are very dirty and a contributory cause to congestion.
3. Sidewalks (for pedestrians) do not always exist and wherever they do exist they are occupied by hawkers, barbers, vehicles, refugee stalls. So pedestrians have never learnt to use sidewalks. As a matter of habit pedestrians use main roads even when it can be helped.
4. Construction and repair work on roads is carried out without prior planning of traffic routes. Traffic is put into difficulty by being forced to take long detours. Small repair work or road cleaning work carried on during peak flow hours (9 to 10.30 A.M. and 4.30 to 6.00 P.M.) cause congestion and accident danger.
5. At many spots obsolete design of road is apparent. Such spots can be improved at a cost quite nominal as compared to the returns they would bring in terms of relief in congestion and danger.
6. Road signs are not uniform in shape, size, height, colour etc. and also not well maintained. Some of the signs are covered with posters. Such installation and maintenance of road signs loses respect in the public eyes.
7. Road markings all over the town are extremely poor and need immediate attention.
8. Many motorists do not pay attention to signs and majority of pedestrians fail to observe traffic rules. There is a general lack of road sense on the part of all types of road users which makes the traffic conditions even worse.
9. Some roads are inadequate in their geometric design features with respect to the traffic volumes they have to carry. It is apparent that the existing roads were not designed and planned for the present or future traffic conditions. But even in the newly developed colonies like Patel Nagar and

Karol Bagh, the planning and layout of roads is poor from traffic safety and efficiency point of view.

10. Petrol pumps are located at wrong places, causing congestion to other traffic.
11. Cycle traffic of Delhi is on rapid increase and so are roads accidents between cycles and faster vehicles. There is a necessity of providing special express ways, or wherever that is not possible, planning traffic in a way that faster traffic do not use the roads with cycle rush during particular hours.
12. Road traffic accidents of Delhi are not being analysed or recorded scientifically. By scientific analyses of accidents and congestion spots preventive measures can be evolved.
13. Delhi traffic problem in the city area is no less serious than that in advanced cities of western countries. It is further aggravated due to mixed type of slow and fast traffic.
14. Octroi posts have poor practices of stopping and checking the heavy commercial vehicles right in the middle of the road.
15. Road lighting practices are poor.
16. Bullock-carts and cycles and other type of vehicles are hardly visible at night time on suburban roads. They should be required to carry light with them.
17. Loading and unloading zones are not designated properly and poor practices of loading and unloading create confusion on the road and hamper the flow of traffic.
18. Unrestricted size of bullock-carts with long steel bars and such types of load is a great traffic hazard.
19. Bullock-carts travelling in caravans cause great congestion in the city area, as it is not easy to overtake a caravan of bullock-carts by faster type of traffic.

Contributory Causes

There are several factors responsible for fast deteriorating traffic conditions of Delhi, such as :

1. Functional obsolescence of roads, *i.e.*, geometric features (visible dimensions) of the past are inadequate for the present and future traffic needs.
2. Prevalence of mixed type of traffic (*i.e.*, slow traffic, fast traffic and cycle traffic).

3. Rapid increase in Delhi's population and unplanned and uncontrolled expansion in the recent past and further inflow at the rate of 65,000 people per year from rural areas.

4. Increasing volumes of traffic of all types.

5. Lack of road sense on the part of road-users.

6. Absence of scientific personnel specially trained for the job *i.e.*, traffic problems.

7. And most of all, lack of realization of the seriousness of the problem on the part of both the public and the concerned authorities.

Traffic functions in Delhi cut across the established duties of various concerned departments, like the Central Public Works Department, New Delhi Municipal Committee, the Delhi Municipal Corporation, the Horticulture Department, the Traffic Police, the Roads Wing of the Union Transport Ministry, the State Motor Transport Controller, etc. The divided responsibility creates confusion and delay.

A NEW APPROACH NECESSARY

When a new problem arises effort is often made to meet it by fitting conveniently the requirement into some already existing arm of governmental organization where enlargement of staff and responsibilities may make it possible to meet the immediate need. But in case of the traffic problem any answer of this type would be extremely inadequate.

As the problem starts spelling headaches to the general public, study groups, commissions and experts are called upon for aid, suggestions and comfort. In response changes and innovation are brought about. But the pattern of such changes is usually stop-gap, short term and far from comprehensive in scope.

Various study groups, studying different segments of the traffic problem, seeking to curing traffic maladies through partial remedies, cannot provide salvation even though they may be doing full justice to their job.

There are several aspects of the problem which have to be dealt with simultaneously and scientifically. These aspects are : (i) Road Users, (ii) Roads, (iii) Vehicles, (iv) Traffic Laws, (v) Traffic Courts, (vi) Traffic Police, (vii) Public Education, and (viii) Accidents.

Now let us look at one aspect of the problem, *i.e.*, road users or the people. It has been well said that the greatest unexplored territory in this world is right under one's own head and the greatest problem in this world is man himself. It is particularly true in road traffic. In the main and for the long pull it is the people—the drivers, the pedestrians, the cyclists, animal-drawn vehicle operators and other types of road users, the officials and citizens, each one with his own interest and viewpoint, which constitute this aspect of the problem.

Basically and for long range much of our progress must come through affecting people, changing people and improving people by influencing their habits of behaviour. So what is primarily needed is greater and more sensitive public consciousness of the significance of the imponderable yet important part which traffic conditions play in the life of our citizens. This is the social aspect of the problem the solution of which is not so simple nor so obvious as we tend to think. Persistent and planned effort is required to meet this aspect of the problem—the details of which are not discussed here.

It is often said that if all road users behaved correctly at all times there would be no accidents other than those due to act of God or mechanical failure. This is another fallacy. Human nature is such that this standard of behaviour can never be achieved and placing undue stress on human error is just an easy way out.

We have to use other techniques to meet the gap between the desired behaviour and the behaviour that can be attained at any one time. This leads to other aspects of the problem the discussion of which is skipped here.

So when we look at the problem in detail and the specialized knowledge required to deal with the problem, it is clear to us all that the omnibus character of one single department handling several kinds of jobs was suited only for the horse and buggy age. This is not adequate any more.

There is a definite need of setting up a new organization to handle traffic problems in an integrated and well-planned manner. This organization—Traffic Administration—headed by a Traffic Administrator should be adequately financed and made responsible for all road traffic problems of Greater Delhi. This centralization of responsibility in the hands of the persons specially trained for the job can bring about considerable improvement in present traffic conditions and prevent many future traffic problems. In traffic, as in other areas

of public activity, the best techniques and plans will not effect satisfactory solutions without developing an adequate structure as a basis of co-operation in the existing administration.

While planning Traffic Administration it must be kept in mind that traffic function cuts across various interests both private and government. As traffic functions are so broad in interest and application, the Traffic Administration must participate in many co-operative activities. A strict objective of the Traffic Administration is to co-ordinate the many and indirect influences on traffic planning, construction, operation and at the same time require all appropriate departments and agencies to assume effective responsibility of traffic functions which fall within their framework.

The main functions of Traffic Administration should be : (1) Effective co-ordination and integration of traffic activities. (2) Effectively procure and disseminate information to the public regarding traffic problems, what authorities are doing to overcome those and how the public can help in that. (3) To replace 'hit or miss opinions', regarding traffic problem and its solutions, by facts and actual traffic data, concerning various traffic problems of the city. (4) Organize traffic safety propaganda and develop good public relations. (5) Study and present most traffic problems as public problems rather than individual problems. (6) Installation, operation and maintenance of traffic control devices such as signs, signals, markings, safety islands, etc. (7) Scientific investigation and analysis of road traffic accidents with a view to bringing about physical improvements of dangerous road traffic situations. (8) Carry out all types of traffic survey work. (9) Planning the flow of traffic in urban areas. (10) Control and regulation of traffic during special events like Republic Day Parade, visit of State Guests, etc. and thus avoid 'Tilpat Jams'. (11) Planning and designing the extension and new location of urban roads. (12) All other matters relating to traffic safety, regulations, engineering, education and administration.

Besides these functions for improving traffic conditions during peace time, the proposed Traffic Administration has a definite role in Civil defence to control : (a) normal local traffic, (b) panic traffic, (c) long distance traffic, (d) emergency military traffic. The functions of the Traffic Administration at the time of defence emergency would be (a) to establish a plan for curtailment and priority operation of traffic, (b) to select the system of streets for emergency vehicles, (c) advise and help the Government on all matters relating to traffic and transport.

From the recent past trends in traffic growth it is sufficiently and clearly demonstrated that the public are prepared to make most out of the road transportation. How close they come to full enjoyment and use of its potential depends mainly on the provision of proper facilities by the concerned authorities.

FINANCING THE TRAFFIC ADMINISTRATION

In an expanding economy like that of India source of funds presents one problem and their maximum profitable use presents another problem. In no other field can management show greater return for so little investment as in the field of road traffic.

With the increase in the number of vehicles and their use, revenue in the form of tax (registration, periodic taxation and fuel tax) is increasing. As the city becomes bigger in size and flourishes in business and in other importance, property value increases in the urban areas and so do the property taxes. Since growth of a town or a city has a direct impact on traffic it is justified if a reasonable percentage of property tax is diverted to finance the Traffic Administration. The percentage may be increased periodically, up to a certain maximum limit, as the city grows.

Statistics, in the U.S.A., have shown that more than half the vehicle-miles travelled every year are on urban roads. (More than 600 billion vehicle-miles are travelled on urban roads annually.) Statistics regarding the mileage travelled on urban roads are not available for India but there can be hardly any doubt that much more than half of total vehicle-miles travelled annually are on our urban roads because long distance travel in our country is much less common than it is in the U.S.A. This is true in spite of the fact that percentage of length of urban road to total road length including main highways is very small. So there is every reason that a fair percentage of vehicle taxes, fuel taxes and other taxes concerned with vehicle operation are diverted to finance the Traffic Administration which is most essential for direct benefit of urban traffic.

Revenues must balance costs, but costs must be supported by benefits to maintain public sanction and support. In considering the economic value, it must be realised that road transport differs from other general transportation systems in some aspects. Principally the vehicles are owned and often operated by beneficiaries. Some road revenues come from other sources than users. In road transport, private and public benefits go far beyond pure transportation benefits.

They apply to government, to road users, to the public and to property owners. Keeping this in view the Traffic Administration must be financed from all the concerned sources.

Business interests should be willing to give support as property value and business considerably depend on the traffic conditions.

Revenue from parking meters is another source for financing the Traffic Administration.

Fines collected from traffic offences should be diverted for this purpose.

It may further be added that a simple rupee standard cannot measure the savings in lives and limbs that are effected due to safer traffic conditions.



"The administrator who loves his schemes is a nuisance. He will press them on Ministers in season and out of season, using all the professional skills which are meant to facilitate objectivity in such a way as to conceal from those he advises the subjectivity of his approach. The most serious responsibility of the administrator is to lay aside his preferences in favour of an objective assessment of the situation, not in terms of anything he may hold to be good but in terms of the game as it is played in Whitehall."

—C. H. SISSON
(in "*The Spirit of British Administration*")

CORRESPONDENCE

RESEARCH IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The Editor,
I.J.P.A.

Sir,

In his valuable contribution on "Potentials for Public-Administration Research in India" to the last issue of *Journal* (Vol. V, No. 2), Prof. Phillips Bradley has made a significant exposition of the potentialities of research in the field of public administration. Favouring an inter-disciplinary approach to both planning and conduct of research projects in public administration in India, he has suggested: (1) formation of a representative committee on research programming; (2) organization of periodic conferences on public-administration research; (3) institution of training courses for research in public administration, a broad outline of the training syllabus to be worked out by a small committee or conference of 'experts'.

I strongly support the above proposals of Prof. Bradley, though I differ with him in that the problem of public-administration research in India is not only one of the right perspective and programming but also of 'worth-while' projects, 'competent' personnel and 'correct' methodology.

Till now we have not been able to develop right perspective. True that the Indian Institute of Public Administration has by now completed some useful studies but these are mainly descriptive. Prof. W.H. Moris-Jones has in his review published in the last issue of *Public Administration* (Journal of the Royal Institute of Public Administration, London), pointed out that the articles of your esteemed *Journal* are largely concerned "with particular parts and aspects of the Indian administrative structure. ...The material is mainly descriptive and critical comment limited, but it is no doubt part of the anticipated outcome of the *Journal* that fresh critical thinking will be stimulated."¹ Here, may I add that it does not seem probable that the *Journal* will be able to secure valuable critical contributions unless research in public administration develops a step further.

For evolving the right perspective and direction of public-administration research in India it is essential that there should be set up immediately a high-level committee of experts drawn from all possible fields and disciplines—universities and other academic institutions, central, state and

1. Vol. XXXVI (Winter 1958), p. 395.

local Governments, industrial organisations and voluntary bodies. The committee would obviously have broader objectives and wider functions than the existing Committee of Direction² set up by the *I.I.P.A.* for the limited purpose of directing descriptive studies of the *Institute*. It should be charged with the responsibility of drawing a blue-print outlining the objectives and programme of public-administration research to be followed during the next ten years or so, subject to such changes as might become necessary as the programme is implemented. Experienced senior civil servants should find an overwhelming representation on the committee, considering that not much is known outside the Government circles about how administration works and what makes it click. It is my considered opinion that without the guidance and administrative insights emerging from the valuable experience of senior administrators, an overall and balanced perspective of public-administration research can hardly be developed. Even among administrators it is well nigh impossible to discover one who knows *all* about Indian administration; there are many who know a good deal about a selected aspect but not the whole story of the working of the administrative process.

Within the framework of the

blue-print which the committee might bring out, provision may be made for the organisation of individual research projects on the basis of 'team approach' so much eulogized by Prof. Bradley. Public-administration research in India is still in its infancy. It is essential that each individual project is the result of group rather than individual thinking. Group discussion will not only help to clarify thinking but also stimulate ideas and extend the frontiers of vision and imagination which are so vital to any creative work. One does not know whether the studies so far brought out by the *Institute* are the result of an individual or group thinking and effort.

There is further a general feeling in some quarters that social science research in India is being carried out without taking full advantage of the latest techniques of analysis and research. In this connection the following observations made by the American Agricultural Production Team (sponsored by the Ford Foundation) in its Report on "India's Food Crisis and Steps to Meet It" are of special interest. "... there appears to be only limited use of experimental design in the research to date. ... Most studies make only limited use of controls. The setting up of theoretical frameworks, with more precise concept defini-

2. See, *Indian Institute of Public Administration and Indian School of Public Administration—Objects and Activities*, January 1959, p.24.

tions, would make it possible to do more rigorous research. There is always the temptation to collect some data on many things rather than to limit data collection mainly to those things that fit into a conceptual framework where interrelations can be controlled and tested. There should be more use of statistical techniques in the analysis. The generalizing of apparent differences without statistical tests, especially from small samples, is dangerous"³.

The same Report also emphasises as follows the importance of well qualified and competent research personnel:

"Any members of the research programme, whatever their field, must have *research competence*. This assumes that, in addition to knowing their own field, they have some knowledge of statistics, and, equally important an understanding of rigorous research methodology... To strengthen research, particularly on food production problems, will require resources, and competent staff from many disciplines. The resources now available in the Programme Evaluation Organisation and other research groups should be more sharply focussed on evaluating programmes that are directly related to food production. ... Staff of re-

search organisations should include competent people from such fields as social-psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, statistics, economics, political science and public administration. People competent in areas specifically involved in any programme being studied should be included in the research programme"³.

From what I gather, public-administration research in India is still beating its wings hopelessly against the 'ivory tower' of Government. The knowledge and experience available in universities is limited to the periphery of administration—where the administration touches the fringe of politics—; it has yet to extend itself to the 'core' of administration, to the nature and functioning of the administrative process in actual reality. Even the descriptive material on the functioning of Indian administration is extremely limited and not always authentic. Critical studies and contributions can emerge and flourish only when all the facts and facets of an administrative problem are known in the context of the overall administrative framework.

It is equally important to define and develop different 'perspectives' for administrative research and to make use of different 'models'.⁴ But thinking

3. Report, Government of India, Ministry of Food and Agriculture and Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, April 1959, pp. 243-44.

4. For an illuminating discussion of the various perspectives and models, please see Dwight Waldo, *Perspectives on Administration*, University of Alabama Press, 1956, chapters II, III and V. Also see, William J. Siffin, *Towards the Comparative Study of Public Administration*; Indiana University, 1957, chapter I.

in these matters has not as yet even started in our country. As Woodrow Wilson pointed out as early as 1887, the "object of administrative study is to rescue executive methods from the confusion and costliness of empirical experiment and set them upon foundations laid deep in stable principle".⁵ But this object can hardly be realized in India unless we begin to study and analyse our administrative organization and practice and evolve concepts and models applicable to the Indian setting.

Effective public-administration research would require recruitment of qualified and competent personnel and their development and retention. It takes years of study and experience to turn a person into competent research worker and unless the terms are tempting it will be difficult to retain such personnel on a continuing basis. It is essential not only to pay them adequate salaries but also ensure security of tenure and incentive to good work in the form of promotion opportunities similar to those which have recently been sanctioned by the Central Government in regard to scientific and technical personnel, and conditions of work conducive to creative thinking.

The importance of research in public administration is far greater than what it appears to be on first sight. Without development of research the study of public administration is likely to remain at an elementary stage as today. Without study and research it would not be possible to evolve new patterns and methods of administration which are necessary to meet the requirements of developing economy and the socialist pattern of society. Research, therefore, should be not *one* of the many activities of the Indian Institute of Public Administration but its *chief* activity. Again, public-administration research should be planned in the proper perspective, directed on a high level and persistently pursued on the basis of a phased programme chalked out with due regard to the latest research techniques. Sometimes "good short-term results can be attained by methods that will produce long-term failure".⁶ Let not this happen to public-administration research in India.

Yours faithfully,
N.H. Athreya

Hyderabad,
August 15, 1959.

5. Woodrow Wilson, "The Study of Administration" quoted in Dwight Waldo, *Ideas and Issues in Public Administration— A Book of Readings*, New York, McGraw Hill, 1953, p.91.

6. Carl Heyel, *Appraising Executive Performance*, New York, A.M.A., 1958, p.20.

(I) RECENT TRENDS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

The trend towards the liberalisation of recruitment policies during recent years has been accompanied by an increasing emphasis on effective utilisation of the probationary period and strengthening of the in-service training programmes. The Government of India has recently reviewed the probation rules governing the various Central services and recommended to the central Ministries that instead of treating probation as a formality, the existing powers to discharge probationers should be "systematically and vigorously" used so that the necessity of dispensing with the services of the employee at later stages may arise only rarely. A probationer should be given an opportunity to work under more than one officer and reports on his work obtained from each one of the officers and considered by a board of senior officials. There should be a very careful assessment of the output, character and aptitude for the kind of work that has to be done in the service, before a probationer is confirmed. And only those persons "who possess qualities of mind and character needed in the particular service and the constructive outlook and human sympathy needed in the public services" generally should be confirmed.

In *Rajasthan*, the State Government has, in collaboration with the *Rajasthan University*, instituted a two-year "Junior Diploma Course in Secretarial and Business Training". For future recruitment to the Secretariat and the Government offices, preference will be given to those who

have successfully completed this Diploma Course. Government would guarantee employment as Lower Division Clerks to at least 150 candidates who will complete the Diploma Course in 1961. Those who come at the top may be employed directly as Upper Division Clerks.

* * *

The functionalisation of service cadres has advanced a step further with the constitution of the Central Health Service on June 1. The Service comprises all medical personnel under central Ministries and Departments (except Railways and Defence), as also officers who on August 1, 1957, held duty posts under the Employees' State Insurance Corporation for which basic medical or public health qualifications have been prescribed.

A joint meeting of the State Education Secretaries and the Working Group on Education, held on June 29-30, recommended that a central pool of educational officers and administrators should be created to serve the States at their request.

* * *

The Central Pay Commission is expected to submit its report by the end of August. In *Assam*, the Government has revised the pay-scales of the Sub-ordinate, Class II and Class I State Agricultural Services. The *Bombay Municipal Corporation* has, accepting the recommendations of its Wage Structure Committee, further increased the

basic grade for municipal workers belonging to the unskilled category, (which was increased from Rs. 35-1-40 to Rs. 35-1-45 with effect from 1st April, 1957) to Rs. 40-1-52-2-70. In line with this change, increases have also been given in some other grades. It is estimated that the revision of grades will cost the Corporation an additional expenditure of about one crore and ten lakhs of rupees per annum. The *Himachal Pradesh* Administration has announced increases in the pay-scales of the village level worker, the social education organiser, excise, taxation and co-operative sub-inspectors, forest rangers and guards, and naib Tahsildars.

* * *

Increasing attention is being devoted to extending employees' benefits and facilities. The *Punjab* Government has brought the pension benefit for Class IV employees on par with that of Class I to Class III Services. The period of leave, in case of Class IV officials, who retired on or after April 1, 1957, will now also count towards pension. The *Punjab* Government has also plans for a cheap lunch for its employees when the office hours are changed to Winter timings. In *Mysore*, the Government has ordered that Class IV staff, who do not form a Division-wise cadre, should not normally be transferred outside the district in which they are initially posted to work in order to avoid their being put to hardship. The Government of *U.P.* has decided that transfers of gazetted officers of the State Government will in future be made only in the month of June so that they take charge of the new posts by July.

At the Centre, the Government has liberalised its policy in regard to acceptance of stipends and scholarships by Government servants for

purposes of study. The Government servants who are granted study leave will now be able to receive and retain, in addition to their leave salary, any scholarship or stipend that may be awarded to them by a government or non-government source.

* * *

Following the lead given by the Centre, the *Rajasthan* Government has revised the *Rajasthan* Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules to introduce a distinction between the appointing authority and the disciplinary authority; to make specific provision regarding suspension; to add compulsory retirement on proportionate pension to the list of penalties; and to provide for revision by Appellate authority.

In *Andhra Pradesh*, the Government has decided that, except under very special circumstances to be recorded in writing by the enquiring officer, no pleader or agent should be allowed to appear either on behalf of Government or on behalf of the person charged before the officer who conducts the enquiry or before any officer to whom appeal might be preferred in disciplinary proceedings.

* * *

There has been a manifest movement in recent months in the direction of administrative reorganization, both in matters of creation and re-organisation of departments and simplification of work procedures. In *Andhra Pradesh*, the State Government has decided to experiment with a simplified procedure in regard to specified references, from Heads of Departments to the Secretariat, pertaining to proposals relating to additional staff and service matters and disciplinary enquiries

in which final orders are to be passed by the Government. Under the simplified procedure the Head of a Department may, instead of sending letters or reports, send the concerned file bodily in the form of a U.O. reference to the Secretary of the Department concerned. (Such an experiment was initiated by the Government of U.P. in August 1957 but abandoned recently.) The Agricultural Department has been re-organized in *Assam*, and the Directorate of Technical Education in *Bombay*. A new Department of Minor Irrigation and a separate Inspectorate for Commercial Schools have also been set up in *Bombay*. A Board of Industrial and Mineral Resources has been constituted in *Madhya Pradesh*. *Mysore* Government has amalgamated its Public Health and Medical Departments, and re-organised its Industries and Commerce Department as well as the social education set-up. Efforts are being concentrated in *Rajasthan* on a drive for clearance of arrears, reduction of paper work and delegation of powers.

At the centre, the central O & M Division has completed its review of the O & M activities. Increasing emphasis is being placed on the need for securing economy through simplification of methods and procedures and avoiding of unnecessary expenditure. Instructions have been issued that all correspondence with the public should be in form of letters, couched in courteous words (and not in the form of a memorandum).

The Government of India proposes to replace the existing system of peons in personal attendance on officers or separately attached to sections by a messenger service system on the lines of one existing in Whitehall. Messengers will be pooled for convenient blocks and their work organised on a systematic

basis. The new system is being tried in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Ministry of Defence and the Planning Commission.

* * *

Important among the advisory or enquiry committees recently set up by the Government of India are: a committee on transport policy and co-ordination (with *Shri K.C. Neogy* as the chairman); a committee for demographic research; a committee on survey of health development (chairman: *Dr. A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar*); a working group on co-operative farming, and a panel on agriculture (both by the Planning Commission). In *Assam*, a committee has been constituted to report on the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive; in *Bombay*, a working group on village and small scale industries has been set up; and in *Madhya Pradesh*, a working group on financial resources under the third Plan. *Madhya Pradesh* has also set up Departmental Standing Committees (each consisting of the Minister and the Deputy Minister, and about 15 members of the Legislative Assembly).

* * *

The National Conference on Community Development which met at *Mysore* from July 24 to 27 resolved that the main emphasis of community development programme would hereafter be on increasing agricultural production and building up of people's institutions like panchayats and co-operatives. It also recommended that the job chart of the gram sevaks should be so redefined as to lay stress on his role in regard to agriculture, including minor irrigation, animal husbandry and correlated subjects of co-operatives and panchayats. The Conference further made specific recommendations

about the respective roles of panchayats and village co-operatives in the implementation of the village programmes.

The Sixth Evaluation Report of the Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission on the Community Development Programme reveals that the recommendations of the Mehta Study Team on Community Projects and N.E.S. have been largely accepted by most States and almost all States have taken steps to vitalise the block committees and give greater authority to panchayats to plan and execute local programmes. The pilot projects for rural industries have not done badly, but they have hardly fulfilled their objective—"to act as laboratories for controlled observations to find possible solutions to problems that have come up in the field of cottage and small scale industries". The Report points out that the large industrial co-operative society is on an average five to seven times as large as the small society in terms of membership, area covered and share capital. The large societies have not reached the small cultivators more than the small. According to the Report, the issue is no longer a choice between the large and small co-operative societies, but what should be done to make the small society viable.

The Committee on Rural Education, appointed by the Union Ministry of Education in early 1958 under the chairmanship of *Shri B. Mukerji, I.C.S.*, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, has strongly advocated a change in the pattern of rural education to attune it to the farmers' requirements. It recommends that the standard of teaching and other facilities for the agricultural course at multi-purpose higher secondary schools should be directed towards

making the agriculturists' sons progressive farmers, train a variety of agricultural extension workers and enable persons to carry on research in agriculture. The Committee observes that the rural institutes cannot be developed on the lines of Land Grant Colleges of the U.S.A. Although there should be intimate relationship between the rural institute and the extension agency of the development blocks, there should be no attempt at collaboration in terms of sharing of executive responsibility concerning the programme of the block.

* * *

As regards progress in the field of democratic decentralisation, nine States have enacted legislation or are in the process of doing so. In *Rajasthan*, the State Government has accepted the recommendations of the Committee appointed by it to devise ways and means for the reorganisation of village panchayats in order to enable them to bear the entire responsibility for planning and execution of development programmes under the scheme of democratic decentralisation which will come into force from October 3. In *Madhya Pradesh*, the 14-man Rural Local Self-Government Committee which was constituted by the Government in July 1957, under the chairmanship of *Shri Kashi Prasad Pande, M.L.A.*, has recommended a three-tier system of panchayats throughout the State—a Zila Panchayat at the district level, a Janapada Panchayat at the development block level (present or prospective), and a Village Panchayat at the village level for village-population about 1,000. The functions pertaining to education and public health should, it suggests, be taken up by the State Government while the functions falling within the purview of revenue administration should be entrusted

to the panchayats. The Janapada Panchayats should be entrusted with all the developmental work hitherto being done in the development blocks.

* * *

The Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes, set up by the Committee on Plan Projects, Planning Commission, in May last year, with *Mrs. Renuka Ray*, M.P., as its leader, has in its report suggested that the Central Social Welfare Board should be constituted as a statutory autonomous body and that the executive responsibility for looking after the projects and for the administration of the grants-in-aid programmes should be delegated to the State Boards. Emphasising the importance of employing trained personnel in the different fields of welfare, the Team recommends the establishment of a cadre of social welfare personnel, with minimum standards of recruitment. The Team feels that within the normal community, the welfare of children, especially the children of lower income groups, should receive the first priority. It therefore suggests the setting up of a national commission for child welfare for improving the pattern of child welfare services and for drawing up an integrated national programme as part of the third Five-Year Plan. The Team has further emphasised that a mere multiplication of projects without regard for quality is harmful. Such multiplication may indicate progress in statistical terms without, however, maintaining the minimum standard of quality.

The Programme Evaluation Organization has, in its recent report on the evaluation of the working of the Welfare Extension Projects of the Central Social Welfare Board, pointed out that while the basic idea of

these projects is a sound one, the services rendered by the project personnel do not cover all the villages in a project. The benefits can be extended to all villages uniformly by reducing the number of the villages in the project, and increasing the service personnel and centres. The Report observes that there is a tendency just now to create autonomous agencies for different types of welfare work. To a very large extent, autonomous bodies tend to become little kingdoms. Like all social institutions they tend to perpetuate themselves with the result that their transformation and switch-over from one type of work to another, as the social situation changes, becomes impossible. All the welfare work which is being done by the State as well as the Central Government should be co-ordinated to avoid duplication, save money and make larger funds available for welfare work as a whole. Lastly, the non-official agencies which are called in or are instituted to help in welfare work should be really non-official and also completely non-political. It would be a great achievement if a tradition is built up so as to lift welfare work out of the sphere of party politics.

* * *

A notable event in the field of public enterprises has been the report of the committee, presided over by *Shri V.K. Krishna Menon*, Union Minister for Defence, set up by the Congress Parliamentary Party, on the questions of efficiency and accountability of state enterprises in India. The Committee has recommended the constitution of a standing parliamentary committee to review the working of autonomous corporations; the members of this Committee to be elected in the same way as those of the Public Accounts

Committee and the Estimates Committee. The Krishna Menon Committee has also recommended that state enterprises should not enjoy any special privileges which are not available to private enterprises and they should also contribute to the national revenue by way of profits. The Committee is specially emphatic against the appointment of Secretaries or senior Government officers as chairmen or managing directors. It is also opposed to the appointment of Members of Parliament on the board of management, because "such membership, even if it carries no emoluments, carries much power and patronage". The Committee has further suggested that the chairmen and managing directors should, prior to their appointment, disclose to the Minister their assets and income-tax position, interest of any nature in an, commercial or business concern individual or family-wise, membership of any organisation or their relationship, direct or indirect, with business concerns even if such relationship is not gainful, and also whether any of their relations or dependents are employed in any business concerns, particularly foreign firms.

The State Government of *Mysore* has decided to constitute an Industrial Cadre for manning the posts like managing directors, general managers, secretaries, sales managers, purchase managers, personnel managers, etc. in the state industrial enterprises. The Cadre will consist of officers of three Grades: I. Rs. 800-1200; II. Rs. 550-860; and III. Rs. 250-600.

In *Kerala*, the scales of pay of the staff in state-owned industrial concerns have been revised. The revision increases salaries by 20% in general, involving an extra annual expenditure of Rs. 75,000. The Government has also decided to constitute an autonomous full-fledged commercial undertaking to take over the present nationalised transport in the State.

The Government of India has decided to award every year a shield and five certificates of honour to public undertakings on the basis of their achievements, as an incentive to industrial production in the public sector. Autonomous corporations undertaking actual production will be included among those competing for the certificates and the first recipient will also get a shield along with the certificate.

The Railways Administration has, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Railway Class IV Staff Promotion Committee, liberalised its promotion policy. In future no direct recruitment will be made to junior Class III posts, and to the higher grades in Class IV (except in certain special circumstances). The quota for departmental promotions to clerical posts in grades of Rs. 60-130 and Rs. 60-150 will be raised from 10 to 15%. Employees for whom there are no avenues of promotion at present would be transferred to other departments or higher grades would be created in their own departments. Grouping of posts so as to form larger units in order to avoid dead ends will also be attempted.

(II) NEWS FROM ABROAD

In *Australia*, an increase of 15s. a week in the basic national wage for man and of 11s. 3d. for woman was granted by the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Com-

mission on June 5, with effect from the first pay period after June 11. The decision brought the Federal weekly basic wage to £A 14.3s. in Sydney; £A 14.2s. in Hobart; £A 13.16s.

in Perth; £A 13.15s. in Melbourne; £A 13.11s. in Adelaide and £12.18s. in Brisbane.

In the U.K., under the Pensions (Increase) Act, 1959, an increase ranging from 2 to 12% (varying with the date of pension) has been accorded to persons whose pensions began before April 1957.

The U.K. Select Committee on Nationalised Industries has, in its recent report on the British Air Corporations, found that the Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation's unofficial powers are formidable. The Committee asks if these formidable powers do not add up to "to a degree of control far in advance of

that envisaged by the statutes under which B.O.A.C. and B.E.A. were created and so lead to an undesirable diminution in the authority of the chairmen and boards of the corporations and in their feeling of responsibility". The Committee suggests that "when the Minister wishes, on grounds of national interest, to override the commercial judgement of a chairman, he should do so by a directive, which should be published".

The U.K. Postmaster-General has decided to set up a small committee to advise him on efficiency, courtesy and economy at the Post Office counter.

(III) INSTITUTE NEWS

The Institute has agreed to make organisational arrangements on behalf of the Government of India, for the U.N. Seminar on "Management of Public Industrial Enterprises" to be held from the 1st to 11th December, 1959 at New Delhi. The Seminar is being organized by the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the Office of Public Administration and the Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations of the U.N. It will be the second of its kind in the region.

The Annual General Meeting of the Bombay Regional Branch was held on June 13. It elected *Shri N.T. Mone*, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, as the Chairman, *Shri N.S. Pardasani*, I.A.S., Deputy Secretary, Political and Services Department, Government of Bombay, as the Honorary Secretary and *Shri V.L. Gidwani*, I.C.S., Commissioner, Bombay Municipal Corporation, Bombay, as the Hono-

rary Treasurer of the Branch for the year 1959-60.

Prof. Fred. W. Riggs, Professor of Government and Public Administration, Indiana University, U.S.A., delivered a course of three lectures on "The Ecology of Public Administration—A Comparative Approach" on the 15th, 16th and 20th of July, 1959.

The Second Session of the Course for the Master's Diploma in Public Administration, at the Indian School of Public Administration, commenced on July 3. Ten students were admitted to the First Year and 22 students to the Second Year. This includes three officers deputed by the State Governments of Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore. Four scholarships and five tuition freeships (including hostel accommodation) have been awarded. Two senior scholarships have been awarded to junior teachers from Universities engaged in the teaching of Public Administration, who have been admitted to the Course.

DIGEST OF REPORTS

AUSTRALIA, REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO PUBLIC SERVICE RECRUITMENT, Canberra, Commonwealth Government Printer, 1958, 128p.

The Government of Australia appointed a Committee of Inquiry on September 3, 1957, under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Boyer, K.B.E., (Chairman, Australian Broadcasting Commission) to "inquire into and report to the Prime Minister on the recruitment processes and standards of the Public Service and to make recommendations for any changes which in the opinion of the Committee are necessary to ensure that recruitment is soundly based to meet present and future needs and efficiency of the Public Service at all levels".

The important observations and findings of the Committee, of interest, are as follows :—

(I) THE BACKGROUND OF THE INQUIRY

1. The recruitment system in the Commonwealth Service is related to, though not entirely shaped by the division of the Service into four Divisions as laid down in the Public Service Act of 1922. The First Division contains fewer than 30 officers, almost all being permanent heads. The Second Division, containing about 330 officers, comprises all Chief Officers (including the heads of State branches of departments), about 60 Assistant Secretaries of departments, and a number of other senior executive and professional officers. The Third Division has nearly 30,000 permanent officers. These include about 20 Assistant Secretaries, the greater part of the clerical-executive and professional staff of the Service, some sub-

professional staff, and a considerable number of staff engaged on routine clerical and sub-clerical work. The Fourth Division contains about 60,000 permanent officers, including the greater part of the routine clerical and sub-clerical staff, technical and trades staff, manipulative staff, and partly skilled and unskilled staff. Distributed between the Third and Fourth Divisions there are over 17,000 temporary and 48,000 "exempt" employees. The main entry points to the Service are in the lower levels of the Third and Fourth Divisions respectively. About one-quarter of the annual intake of permanent officers to the Third Division has in recent years been by transfer or promotion from the Fourth Division, the remainder being from outside. The Fourth Division is wholly recruited from outside, though occasionally a re-organisation or a re-classification of positions may result in officers being transferred from the Third to the Fourth Division.

2. The general context of this inquiry can be stated in five propositions. *Firstly*, social conditions, Australian educational systems, and community attitudes to employment questions have greatly changed since the first Public Service Act was passed in 1902. *Secondly*, the functions of the Commonwealth government have expanded tremendously in scope and variety, particularly since the beginning of second World War, and this has been reflected in the growing size and diversity of occupations in the Commonwealth Service and in the greater importance

of higher administrative and policy-advising duties within it. *Thirdly*, although there have been many individual changes in recruitment methods, no general review of revision of recruitment principles and processes had (till the present inquiry) been undertaken since the Service was established. *Fourthly*, for various reasons of expediency in the past decade, some recruitment standards and processes have been allowed to fall below the levels of selectivity established in earlier years. *Finally*, expected increases in the younger age groups of the population, together with new developments in educational standards and opportunities, and the changes in social conditions and attitudes referred to above, should enable the Service to raise its standards of selection and, indeed, require it to adopt new and imaginative methods for some classes of recruitment that were not needed in the past.

(II) RECRUITMENT STANDARDS AND PROCESSES

(a) *Aims and Principles of Recruitment*

Aims and principles which, the Committee thinks, should characterize recruitments to the Public Service in the next twenty-five years are : attracting enough people of adequate quality to provide replacements for resigning and retiring staff in the many types of occupation throughout the Service; selection by open competition at the highest appropriate levels of the best available applicants for each occupation, and placing them appropriately; and training and developing a permanent staff for life-long career with promotions according to merit. The principle of a "career Service" should not, however, preclude the possibility of recruitment at higher levels from outside when the needs of the Service require it. "The standards of

the Service have been, and are likely to remain, prejudiced by too rigid an application of the principle of career Service. Even were this not so there is a widespread belief, which cannot help but harm prestige, that the public service is an unduly sheltered occupation...protection against outside competition should not be regarded as the prime attraction of any field of employment at a time when full employment seems assured and governments of all political complexions are committed to maintaining high and stable levels of economic activity. Indeed under such conditions we believe that the morale and self-respect of the Public Service would be greatly enhanced if it felt it were standing on its own feet by force of merit rather than by restriction of competition. Furthermore, if the canons of independent and impartial staff control are as well established as we believe them to be, public servants no longer have such good reasons as they had sixty years ago to fear that an extended power of recruitment from outside may be abused by excessive numbers of appointments or by appointments on political or personal grounds. There is considerable movement from the Public Service into private employment, and we think the Commonwealth Service would benefit if there could be opportunity for somewhat freer movement in the opposite direction when required, without prejudice to the legitimate rights of existing staff. We would justify this, not only by considerations of efficiency, but also by suggestions that equality of opportunity to enter government service on grounds of demonstrated merit is a legitimate right of all citizens which should not, in logic, be confined merely to entry at the bottom."

(2) (i) Since the time of the first World War the principle of recruitment by open competitive

examination has at various times been abrogated for certain classes of entry. It is no longer to be found in the Public Service Act itself. The Act mentions 'educational qualifications', and 'open examinations', but not competition...The basic principles of open competition for permanent appointment to the Commonwealth Service should be re-affirmed in the Public Service Act and maintained in recruitment practice and the minimum standards prescribed for appointment of permanent staff to the various base grades of the Service should not be relaxed merely in order to meet temporary exigencies. (ii) 'Academic' written examinations can no longer be accepted as entirely reliable tests of comparative fitness for the various kinds of careers in the Public Service. Techniques of non-'academic' vocational testing and interviewing, in conjunction with academic examinations, where appropriate, provide more precise and more reliable methods of selection than in the past. (iii) The principle of recruitment "from below", . . . should not be applied literally, in the sense of uniform recruitment to each Division at a single educational level, as it was in the early Commonwealth Service. There is need in the modern Service for initial recruitment of appropriate numbers from each level of the educational system, provided that this involves no infringement of the principle of equality of social and economic opportunity. . . . "Any system of differential recruitment at various educational levels must be accompanied by equality of opportunity within the Public Service after appointment. Those who enter with lower qualifications should be encouraged and helped to improve their qualifications after entry, and promotions throughout the Service to the highest ranks should remain accessible to all on the basis of merit, experience and

performance, and not on academic qualifications alone."

(b) Attracting Suitable Applicants

(1) The Service is not attracting as many candidates of sufficient quality as it should particularly for its professional and administrative appointments; such recruitment suffers in particular from the undeservedly low prestige of the Service as an institution, from public ignorance of its functions and the nature of the careers it offers, from the belief that seniority rather than merit still plays an undue part in promotions, and from an unimaginative approach to significant details such as the nomenclature of certain positions.

(2) Section 50(3) of the Public Service Act provides that for promotion, consideration must be given "first to the relative efficiency, and, in the event of equality of efficiency of two or more officers, then to the relative seniority, of officers available for promotion" . . . "It is fairly clear that, despite the intention of the Act, seniority played an undue part in promotions between the two world wars", but no statistical evidence is available on which to base a judgement on the practice in recent years. . . . "While seniority, as such, remains a statutory element in the determination of promotions, there will inevitably be a tendency even among the most conscientious officers concerned with the making of promotions, to give it undue weight". To ensure the primacy of merit, section 50(3) should be amended to provide that "in the selection of an officer for promotion under the provisions of this section, consideration shall be given only to the relative efficiency of officers available for promotion to the vacancies".

(3) A special information section should be set up in the Public

Service Board for producing regular brochures and, where necessary, press articles explaining the functions and national importance of the Service.

(c) *Recruitment for Higher Administration (to First and Second Divisions)*

(1) Under modern conditions of government, the widening of the gap between the average Minister's specialized knowledge and that of the elaborately educated and intricately trained official "places a great and difficult obligation on senior public servants, not merely to 'reach informed opinions on national policy' and 'express their conviction in the form of advice', but further, to make even greater efforts to explain to Ministers the reasons for their advice, and to make clear on every occasion, not only their own considered views, but also any alternative lines of action that might be tenable, so as to preserve as far as possible the popular representative's right to make an independent choice of his own policy. The real danger of modern bureaucracy is not so much that officials will consciously strive to 'arrogate to themselves the function of policy-making, as that they will unconsciously tend to take it for granted that their own conscientious deductions from the technical data represent the only logical and objective conclusions possible. This danger is greatest where, because of uneven levels of ability among its senior advisers, the government is forced to depend disproportionately on a few officials who are outstandingly able, but who necessarily represent a limited range of opinion and outlook". The "danger may best be avoided, or minimized, by so increasing the supply and range of outstanding talent in the Service that no particular individual or viewpoint can exercise

a pre-ponderating influence. A second conclusion...is to emphasize the importance of a liberal education, as well as sound specialized training, for public servants in higher administration".

(2) There should be a statutory obligation on the Government to consult the Public Service Board before making appointments or promotions in or to the First Division; any departure from the recommendation of the Board should be required to be notified to Parliament.

(3) There is no royal road to the development of a mature and effective administrator: (i) Able administrators may be produced by a variety of different careers in the Public Service, and any staffing authority would be unwise, and not merely undemocratic, if it confined its search for administrators to any particular stratum or section of the Service. What is desirable is that, however initially selected and in whatever field he may have worked, the person selected for higher administration should have the following qualifications and have had the following opportunities for development: "(a) Whether through formal higher education or by his own efforts, he should have proved himself to have a cultivated mind, able to view broad questions of public policy with a balanced perspective, and to distinguish the essential from the trivial in policy and administration. Naturally, a liberal education at a university, preferably under full-time conditions, is a straightforward means to this end. However, it is not the only means and not necessarily effective in all cases. (b) An administrator must also have certain personal qualities, particularly integrity, intelligence, the capacity for wise practical judgement, and the ability to lead and co-operate with other people. (c) It is most necessary that the officer's abilities

should not have been stultified by long occupation with routine or unduly specialized work. (d) It is equally desirable that he should have had varied experience in more than one branch of Public Service administration. Experience outside government may also be an advantage. (e) Experience and training in management and the control of organisations is necessary in some, but not all, higher administrative posts".

(ii) While every effort should be made to recruit more of the best graduates from our universities, it would be unwise, in Australian conditions, to rely exclusively or mainly on graduate recruitment. A substantial proportion of able Australian school children who do not at present proceed directly to the university at all, if recruited to the Public Service, may well prove suitable for higher administrative work, especially if they are encouraged to complete their formal education after entry to the Service.

(iii) "A high degree of specialisation in policy-advising work may justify the organization and distinctive recruitment of a separate class of two or three thousand officers, as in the British Administrative Class, but the number of positions so classified represents less than half of one per cent. In the Commonwealth Service, a similar class of corresponding proportions might contain perhaps 150 to 200 positions."... "As the work of the Service is at present organised, there are probably far fewer positions than this with a mainly policy-advising function, but many more in which some policy-advising work is mingled to varying degrees with managerial work."

(iv) "The most important needs of the Service are for incentives to attract the highest talent and encourage self-improvement, for the identification and planned development of promising staff from an early stage, and for an organization to

provide better conditions for 'thinking ahead'. It seems inescapable that, apart from salaries and conditions and the general reputation of the Service, the only effective way of meeting these needs is for the administrative career within the Service to be more clearly defined than at present, in terms of a special class or division"... "This might be achieved with the least dislocation by a modification of the present Second Division, by extending it downwards through the classification scale, to a basic minimum level of, say, £1,533."... "The object of this change would be to include in the Second Division, in addition to its present complement of senior managerial, policy-advising and professional positions, all intermediate positions that might form part of an administrative career, and, at the bottom, a 'Second Division Training Grade' extending from £1,533 to £1,723 (without basic wage adjustment), containing positions suitable for administrative training, with a range of increments extending over three or four years." The re-modelled Second Division would be a less radical and more flexible measure than introducing an "administrative class" on British lines.

(4) (i) The Second Division, in its proposed form, should be recruited at the base by planned annual intake to positions in training through a common examination (open to persons outside the Service and to persons in other Divisions) similar to Method II for recruitment to the British Administrative Class.

(ii) "The Public Service Board should appoint a committee of persons familiar with modern testing techniques to frame and administer a group of tests appropriate to Commonwealth conditions. The committee should include academic as well as public service specialists of high standing."

(5) (i) "Process of promotion is subject to weaknesses in the classification system, to restrictions by way of appeals, and to an element of chance which is due to the lack of suitable and systematic means for identifying talent wherever it may be, and arriving at a comparative assessment of the performance and potentialities of officers". (ii) The potentiality factor should be considered in all promotions in or to the proposed extended Second Division, instead of only for certain prescribed positions, as at present.

(6) A small committee should be set up by the Board to advise and assist it on all matters affecting administrative recruitment and development.

(7) No uniform or regular system of reporting on the work and progress of officers is in use throughout the Commonwealth Service, although two or three departments have instituted systems of their own. The Public Service Board should establish a system of staff reporting, at first in the training grade, as an integral part of the proposed reform of the Second Division, and that experience with this should be used as a guide in extending staff reporting to other Divisions of the Service.

(d) Recruitment to the Third Division

(1) For base-grade recruitment by examination to the clerical-executive careers in the Third Division, examination below the standard of the (School) Leaving Certificate should be abolished and the Leaving Certificate or its equivalent should be prescribed as the minimum qualifying standard, competitive selection being made by means of a special new test of the aptitudes of candidates for clerical-executive work with a uniform age limit of 25 years (to be known as the P.S.S. Test).

(2) Section 36A of the Public Service Act, providing for the recruit-

ment without examination of graduates of Australian universities to the base grade of the Third Division, should be amended to remove the hampering restrictions contained therein and to enable graduate recruits to be appointed to positions of appropriate character and salary. At present entrants to professional careers in the Third Division are recruited to positions in the base grade under Section 47 of the Act, which was intended only for exceptional outside appointments to the higher grades of the Service. In future, all recruitment without written examination to Third Division base-grade positions, requiring a degree or diploma or other qualification at the tertiary level, should be made under a new section 36A, without any age limits and without any arbitrary quota, at differential salary rates appropriate to qualifications, on the basis of the candidate's academic or professional qualifications, supplemented by an interview.

(3) In order to raise the standards of the transfer examinations to the minimum level recommended for outside entry to the Division and to apply the general principle of open competition to such recruitment so far as possible: (a) the Fourth Division officers who have or attain the Leaving Certificate should be eligible for transfer to the Third Division on achieving a satisfactory result in the P.S.S. Test; (b) an alternative means to enable mature officers with practical experience in the Fourth Division to qualify for transfer to the Third should be continued by means of a revised form of the present "Insiders' Clerical Examination", the standard of this examination should be raised to approximately that of the Leaving Certificate and its syllabus should be more closely related than at present to the skills and knowledge relevant to clerical work and

candidates for the examination should also be required to sit for the P.S.S. Test; and (c) single order or merit list should be established both for the departmental and outside candidates on the basis of their performance in the P.S.S. Test.

(e) *Recruitment to the Fourth Division*

(1) The present recruitment structure of the Service provides no regular means of entry for young people (as distinct from ex-service-men) with qualifications of a standard between the Leaving Certificate level and that of the primary school. At least one suitable and clearly-defined career could be provided for young people with the Intermediate Certificate, by extending the present Fourth Division Clerical Assistant grades to include much of the routine clerical and sub-clerical work now classified in the Third Division. The educational standard for entry to the lowest Clerical Assistant grades should be raised from its present rudimentary level.

(2) Section 39 of the Public Service Act (Fourth Division appointments without examination) should be used as sparingly as possible; the Board should be statutorily required to notify from time to time the classes of positions to which the section is being applied. All recruitment of typists and similar staff should revert to educational examinations (together with tests of skill and aptitude) as soon as possible.

(f) *Lateral Recruitment to the Third and Higher Divisions*

Section 47 of the Public Service Act, which provides for recruitment without examination in special cases of persons not otherwise eligible for appointment, while used freely for professional recruitment, seems in practice to be too restrictive to allow

of strengthening the clerical-administrative ranks by outside recruitment when required. It should be amended to empower the Permanent Head of Department to invite applications, through a Gazette notification, both from outsiders and departmental candidates if at any time it appears to him that there is no officer in the Department suitable for promotion or transfer to a specified office in a Division other than the Fourth Division; the relative merit of the departmental vis-a-vis outside candidates to be assessed by a selection committee. A new section 47B should be inserted, which can be brought into force for a limited period when it is necessary to recruit small groups of suitably qualified people for in-service training for some new or extended class of more or less specialized positions.

(g) *Special Categories of Employment*

(1) Sub-section (1) of section 49 of the Public Service Act prohibits the employment of an already married woman either permanently or temporarily, unless the Board allows; sub-section (2) provides that every female officer shall be deemed to have retired from the Service upon her marriage unless the Board certifies that there are special circumstances which make her employment desirable. When the Service is short of qualified people, even the small proportionate losses entailed by the present restrictions on employment of married women are scarcely justifiable. Sub-sections (1) and (2) of section 49 should be repealed.

(2) Medical standards should be redefined to facilitate the employment of physically handicapped persons who are otherwise suitable.

(3) The proportion of temporary and exempt positions in the Service should be reduced by increasing the

proportion of permanent to temporary positions in departmental establishments, by assisting temporary employees to qualify at the proper standards for permanent employment and by including them in staff training programmes particularly where their work brings them in contact with the public.

(h) Probation and Placement

(1) New appointees should be interviewed in conjunction with departmental representatives in order to determine their appropriate allocation to departments; and departments should be required to provide the Board's Inspectors with detailed job descriptions of vacant positions.

(2) The Public Service Board should ensure that departments make every effort to place the probationer appropriately, to watch carefully his period of induction, to assess him critically, and to inform the Board promptly in cases of misfit.

(III) THE ADMINISTRATION OF RECRUITMENT

(1) (i) The statutory function of the Board in the recruitment field has always been primarily to act as an independent central authority maintaining uniform standards and processes in the matter of recruitment throughout the Public Service... In addition the Board is charged with the duty of devising means for effecting economies and promoting efficiency in the management and working of departments, and of exercising "a critical oversight of the activities, and the methods of conducting the business of each Department..." (ii) The Board has sought adjustment to the changes in the size and complexity of the Commonwealth Service by encouraging departments to set up their own

organisation and methods and training sections and by delegating to the largest department, the Post Office, the conduct of some recruitment and promotion examinations... The Board might examine the possibility of granting further delegations in the Postmaster-General's Department and other departments to conduct appointment, transfer or advancement examinations for categories of staff peculiar to the one department.

(2) The present and future need is for a more positive emphasis on freeing the Board, and equipping it with adequate staff and finance, to develop an active and imaginative recruitment programme aimed at higher quality and more discriminating selection of staff, and not merely at preventing abuses and excluding the obviously unfit.

(3) The Public Service Board should make its staff records as complete as possible; strengthen its Research Section by additional specialist staff; and take appropriate steps to afford its senior officer more time for the planning of recruitment and general staffing policy.

(4) The Board should expand the specialist staff of its examinations section, promote the study of new techniques of examination and selection, and establish and maintain closer contacts with appropriate bodies outside the Service which are concerned with research and educational developments relevant to Commonwealth Service recruitment.

(5) It is necessary that in future the development and results of recruitment legislation and policies, and of other aspects of Public Service staffing, should be reviewed as a whole at more or less regular intervals of not more than ten years by persons not immersed in the day-to-day administration of the system.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP—A Study of the Principles of Civics and Politics ; By GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH, Calcutta, Orient Longmans, 1958, xi, 318p., Rs. 6.75.

This is a textbook on Civics written specially to meet the requirements of pupils in Higher Secondary Schools who under the new regulations have to answer a paper on it at the Public Examination. But it is so written that it can satisfy admirably the needs of any citizen who wants to acquire an intelligent understanding of his place in society and of his rights and responsibilities in the modern democratic state. The concept of citizenship is much more comprehensive today than in the previous ages. It carries with it more rights—political as well as civil—and more duties. This point is emphasized by the author. His approach is sociological and not merely political as is the case with many other writers on the subject. Society consists of many associations and the state is only one of them—though the most important and the most powerful. The citizen belongs to these associations—like the family, the church etc.—as well as to the state. This point is clearly brought out and there is a lucid account of all associations, Communities and Institutions both from the historical and the analytical standpoints. The views expressed on family, marriage, caste, and reli-

gion—about which ideas have been undergoing revolutionary changes in modern times—are well balanced. There is a comprehensive study of the State, its origin and purpose, its organisation, and the role of public opinion and political parties in it and it contains an adequate discussion of several controversial issues like bicameralism, party government, democracy and dictatorship. This part of the book can serve as an admirable introduction to a knowledge of political science. A citizen today is in a sense a member of the World Community and the chapter "Towards a World Order" which traces the evolution of International Organisation and the successes and failures of the League of Nations and the U.N.O. explains lucidly the implications of this membership. The chapter on "Citizenship: Good and Deficient" throws fresh light on the ideal of citizenship and on why many of us in our life fall short of the ideal. Shri Gurmukh Nihal Singh is one of India's outstanding writers on Political Science and this book of his bears on every page of it evidence of his vast learning and of his equally vast experience in the conduct of public affairs.

—M. Venkatarangaiya

THE WELFARE STATE IN NEW ZEALAND; By J.B. CONDLIFFE, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1959, 396p., 35/-.

Since the end of the second world war the concept of welfare state has been growing increasingly popular all over the world. This is partly due to the tug of war between the two rival ideologies, namely, capitalism

and communism and partly due to the growth of new humanist movement. In the ideological conflict, welfare state presents its claim for acceptance by pointing to a proper blend in it of welfare with freedom.

The new humanist movement is a product of and reaction to the phenomena of preventible poverty amidst plenty. While ideological and economic forces contributed to the concept of welfare state, its realisation in practice would have been hampered without the development of appropriate techniques in public finance and administration. Wherever these four factors, namely, ideology, affluence, financial and administrative techniques have developed, welfare state has become an established fact. New Zealand occupies a proud place in the family of welfare states in the world. The reasons for this phenomena are not far to seek. It is a small but well administered country. The conflict between the colonizing whites and the native Maoris is resolved by assimilation or friendly co-existence. Its economy, based on sheep-raising and dairying and supplemented by secondary industries, has enabled the people to cross the barrier of poverty. The grinding pressures of the long depression of 1880 initiated a programme of social legislation that attracted worldwide attention. New Zealand is one of the earliest countries to develop a regulated pattern of economic organisation and a comprehensive system of social security.

The present book is mainly concerned with measuring and documenting the developments between 1935 and 1957. The book deals with much broader fields and aspects than are indicated normally by the title of the book. Of the eight chapters in the book, the first six deal with such economic aspects as 'The Impact of Depression', 'Planned Insulation', 'The Structure of Economy', 'Borrowing for Development', 'The Economic Functions of Government' and 'State Regulation of Wages'. These chapters occupy 279 pages out of 363 leaving appendices. Chapter seven entitled 'The

Social Welfare State' covers 44 pages and the balance is occupied by the last chapter 'New Zealand in the World'.

The broad canvas on which the welfare state is painted has its own merits, it describes the philosophy of the Labour Party's programme which was "to insulate the national economy from external fluctuations in the export markets, and upon the basis of a stabilised national income to achieve simultaneously three major objectives—stability of domestic prices, social security and income redistribution, and national development". The chapter on 'The Economic Functions of Government' discusses the close relationship between the economic and social policies of the welfare state. The following paragraph (on page 207) gives some idea of this relationship: "The Welfare State accepts responsibility for individual as well as community welfare". "Its business ... is to direct, watch, stimulate and restrain, and only incidentally to operate". "It stands ready to care for (and direct) not only the weak but all members of the community. It does so primarily by expenditures and controls designed to maintain full employment. It also provides services such as hospital and medical care for every one. Sometimes it must take over or supplement existing enterprises such as housing construction, or create new ones. Monetary payments are made to dependent groups—the young and the old, widows and orphans, the sick and the unemployed. Such payments come from the taxpayer and to some extent from credit creation. The Government therefore exercises a powerful influence on the economy through its taxing and spending, and also through its control of credit and money."

The chapter on 'The Social Welfare State' deals with a number of

important aspects, such as, the background of law dealing with delinquents, criminals etc., feminine influence;—"Much of the burden of the social welfare state is carried by women"—from charitable aid to social security benefits, socialised medicine, housing and the level of living.

The book is thoroughly documented and well written but one feels that it is a one-sided presentation. While the economic background is useful, the socio-psychological aspects of welfare state also

deserve closer attention. A chapter on the cultural adaptation and living conditions of the Maoris would have been of great value. The regulated socio-economic experiments in the insulated island state of New Zealand are good examples of what can be achieved by the State towards the freedom and welfare of the citizen but it is doubtful whether these experiences can be utilised and if so to what extent, in States with bigger size and more complex socio-economic phenomena.

—V. Jagannadham

THE JOB OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE; BY MARVER H. BERNSTEIN, Washington, D.C., Brookings, 1958, viii, 241p., \$3.50.

This is a valuable addition to the studies of the Federal Civil Service in the U.S.A. published by the Brookings Institution. The last study which was brought out by the Institution, entitled "Executives for Government", dealt with the basic issues of recruiting, developing and retaining higher administrative personnel, both political and non-political, in the federal government. The emphasis of that study was mainly on staffing practices and patterns for ensuring a sufficient supply of competent executives. The present study, on the other hand, concentrates primarily on the nature, dimension and content of the job of the federal executive and the political, constitutional and administrative setting of the job. It is mainly a record of the comments and statements (some of which are quoted verbatim) made by a group of 24 distinguished federal executives and some others at a Round Table conference convened by the Brookings Institution in 1957—comments and statements related to personal experience on the job, personal triumphs and failures, relations with other officials and agencies, Congress and interested groups.

A full chapter deals with the job of the political executive and a second with the job of the career executive. The job of the political executive (political executives in federal government number about 1,100) is a composite of tasks which include 'commanding' departments and agencies, developing policies and programmes and defending these before Congress, the public and presidential staff arms. It requires both a sensitivity to public desires and capacity to withstand considerable public criticism. "Executives in government are required to live in a goldfish bowl". The career executive concerns himself, on the other hand, mostly with matters of routine management, though he too is required to possess a realistic and full knowledge of congressional behaviour, rally congressional support for seeing through the programme of his bureau or department and defend it before congressional committees. The main job of the career executive is to provide a reservoir of knowledge, managerial competence based upon experience, and an understanding of the peculiarities of Government administration; he

must emphasize matters of "feasibility, practicability, and effectiveness". Both, the career and the political executives must lay out work plans for future activities, maintain a going establishment, secure adequate funds and staffing, and evaluate performance. For both several factors in the governmental environment—size, complexity and interdependence of operations, interdepartmental rivalries and public accountability—have resulted in a growing emphasis on procedure and routine and integrity in public administration.

The Round Table did not accept the conception of the politically neutral career executive put forward by the Task Force on "Personnel and Civil Service" of the Second Hoover Commission. The Commission held that career administrators "should avoid controversial public discussions; and in their approach to their duties they should be as objective, professional, and free from emotional attachment to particular policies as possible". The Round Table found "every career executive is concerned with policy and political decisions day in and day out from the moment he gets to be a grade 13. He cannot avoid these political questions if he is to do his job properly". Some members of the Round Table felt that there was a tendency to overdraw the distinction between career and non-career executives"; that "the distinction between the two groups lies not in the nature of their jobs but rather in the degree of political experience each possesses"; and that "the long-time career executive easily outranks the transient political executive of limited tenure in political skill".

The jobs both of the political and career executives call for certain common qualities such as foresight, the ability to plan, co-ordinate

and command, the skill to negotiate and compromise and the capacity to decide on the basis of incomplete data—attributes related to the responsibilities of higher management. The discussions at the Round Table seem to emphasize more the differences than the common requirements of the jobs of higher executives in government and business.

* * *

The discussions at the Round Table revealed that there are a variety of factors and motivations which induce persons to accept positions as federal political executives but it is difficult to weigh the relative importance of each of them. The men who joined the Eisenhower Administration in 1953 came primarily from business. The problems of staffing are therefore mainly those of a "business-oriented" administration. Under existing pay schedules, we are told, it is impossible for the federal government to compete directly with private business for executive talent; other main objections being inability to leave private affairs and the relative insecurity and low prestige of the public service. The remedies suggested include better personnel practices, higher salaries and making jobs more attractive. Some of them are: "more attractive salaries, regular sabbatical leave, the prospect of the broadening associations made possible by periodical interchange with business or academic institutions, the assurance of an education for their children, and the provision for essential entertainment expense would, taken together, materially increase the holding power of these (political) positions". (*John C. Carson : Executives for the Federal Service, Columbia University, 1952, p.74*).

The difficulties experienced by the political executives in adjusting themselves to their jobs in government, the handicaps under which

they have to work and the advantages in business employment which they forego—which are graphically brought out in the book—led the Round Table to underline the need for an orientation programme for political executives, both in regard to institutional indoctrination in the tradition and history of a particular department or agency and in the overall political setting. Such an orientation programme was, in fact, established by the U.S. Cabinet in 1957.

* * *

The Round Table was skeptical both about the possibility and ability of the political parties in U.S.A. to supply an adequate number of useful candidates for political executives positions. Here are some illuminating observations: "We can never hope that American political parties will ever provide the kind of training for political jobs that the British do for the simple reason that in the United States there is no career in it".... "The patronage system cannot supply usable candidates in substantial number because of the lack of cohesion within the parties". In fact, "Parties have no mechanism for screening candidates and no standards for judging executive competence". "...the power of appointment does not often help a President to maintain control of his Party and may encourage others to convert it to their own uses". "...Patronage...seems to be a force that leads to further diffusion of leadership and responsibility in the executive branch and constitutes a potential, if not actual, threat to the President".

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About one-fourth of the book is devoted to the examination of the political setting under which the federal executives work. The need for non-partisan political activity on the part of career executives arises partly

from the constitutional separation of powers and the presidential type of democracy. The Cabinet headed by the President (with a term of 4 years) is not responsible to Congress; the Congress, and, through it, the people, have, therefore found other ways and means to make the Administration responsive to their wishes. Given the lack of unity in Congress and the personalization of legislative power in committee chairmen, congressional intervention varies considerably from agency to agency and from time to time. The career executives depend upon congressional support for securing necessary appropriations for their bureau or departmental programmes. Congress is both conscious and jealous of its powers. It expects to be consulted in advance and insists upon having a real opportunity to modify the proposals of the executive branch. Intervention by legislators in administration tends to increase due to a number of other factors among which are: the large size of the business, operations of interest groups, the wide area of administrative discretion in particular situations and the decline in the number of patronage jobs. There are instances where governmental bureaus clear all important policy issues with the chairman of the appropriate congressional committee. The recent developments in legislative-executive relations are in the spheres of the staffing of legislative committees, the increasing use of legislative veto and the creation of legislative liaison staffs in administrative agencies. "The development of a quasi-permanent bureaucracy serving the legislative branch has stimulated legislative interest in the details of administrative operations and occasionally has enabled committees to delve deeply into matters that federal executives consider to be administrative prerogatives".

Political parties are probably less significant than pressure groups in the executive's environment. Pressure groups try to establish in the government autonomous organisations whose jurisdictions correspond to their interest and endeavour to see that these agencies remain relatively independent of the executive branch as a whole. Though Congress enacted in 1946 the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, the latter provides only a weak measure of lobby control. The federal executive must negotiate more or less continuously with organised interests concerned with his programmes. He must live not merely with congressmen, party leaders, executive colleagues, and subordinate administrative officials, but also with the leaders of interest groups.

The executive in the federal government is no less affected by the supervision and direction exercised by the President through his staff. Since 1930, Presidents have utilised the processes of budgeting, personnel management, and administrative reorganisation to strengthen their role as federal administrator-in-chief. Further, since 1949, powers formerly vested by law in bureau chiefs have been largely transferred to department heads in the departments of the Treasury, Justice, Post Office, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor. The impact of presidential staffing upon agency heads and their deputies is neither uniform nor clearly defined. Despite the recent inroads, each bureau, created in response to a particular need, holds firmly to its separatist ways, resisting departmental and presidential leadership. Bureau autonomy can be traced to the sprawling patchwork of the executive branch and the increasing reliance by the overworked and relatively inexperienced non-career executives upon career administrators.

There has been a steady growth of the civil service into a body of relatively permanent professional specialists, due to the evolution of an *esprit de corps* based on group identification, higher standards of professional performance, the development of bureau career systems and last but not least the growing sense of programme loyalties. Some interesting trends are the encouragement of inter-agency rivalries for discovering the public interest and the use of 'staff' aids.

* * *

The chief value of the book for its Indian readers lies in the clarity with which it brings out the limits of traditional generalizations about the American politics and American administration. It shows how the nature, scope and detail of the job of the federal executive in the United States are conditioned by its constitutional and political settings, though the author does not explore the impact of economic factors. The study dispels the common notions that the spoils system contributes to the strength of the two-party system, that the political neutrality of the career executive necessarily implies 'programme' neutrality, that legislative interference invariably weakens rather than sustains bureau or departmental administrations and that political executives inducted from business as a rule try to stick to their jobs (rather than leave after 2-3 years) for furthering their business or private interest. There are, we learn from the American experience, no categorical or absolute principles and concepts of public administration. Like social and political institutions, administrative institutions and practices must be viewed in the context of the overall social, economic and political settings and the demands made by the forces of development and democracy. Only an integra-

tion of the administrative organisation and practice with the political and socio-economic organisation and practice can make the study of public administration in India empirical.

Few studies have been made in India of the job of the administrator in the Central Government or State Governments. The structure as well as the spirit of administration is undergoing a radical change with the assumption of new welfare and

development functions by government. Many government reports and articles and some studies—like Shri A.D. Gorwala's "The Role of the Administrator : Past, Present and Future" and Shri Asok Chanda's "Indian Administration"—deal with the subject but only in a general way. We need a detailed study of the new tasks of the administrator today and the difficulties which he has to surmount. both environmental and institutional.

—N. Srinivasan



BOOK NOTES

APPRAISING EXECUTIVE PERFORMANCE; By CARL HEYEL. New York, American Management Association, 1958, 189p., \$4.50.

Written primarily for the operating (business) executive, the book discusses the objects, nature, background, and contents of "executive appraisal". Distinguishing the *appraisal* from *merit rating* in that the latter is generally related to regular salary reviews and covers also rank and file personnel, the author views appraisal as a continuous process of evaluating the *total* being of the

individual executive in relation to his present duties as well as future higher responsibilities in the firm—his tangible performance on the job; his managerial skills; personal traits and behaviour characteristics; and attitudes, motivation and understanding. The various elements of, and factors for appraising, each of these aspects are analysed in detail and rating grades proposed for each of them as well for an overall appraisal. Six managerial skills are listed: the ability to (1) plan in long-range terms, (2) make decisions, (3) organize operations, (4) co-ordinate and direct, (5) delegate and assign; and

(6) a willingness to check up and follow up. The author specially warns that good short-term results can be attained by methods that will produce long-term failure; and that an analysis even of all the traits in an executive would not yield a fully true picture of managerial ability; for that a review of behaviour in relation to specific situations is essential. For finding out how the executive gets along with others, it may be desirable to get information and reactions from persons on the executive's own level or, if it seems desirable, from persons reporting to him. The author "looks upon appraisal, not in the narrow framework of a specific technique, but broadly, in terms of its tie-in with the objectives of management...the accent here is on principles and practical action rather than on specific rating form and patterned plans".

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION—Concepts, Practices, and Issues; By EDGAR L. MORPHET, ROE L. JOHNS, & THEODORE L. RELLER, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1959, x, 556p., \$7.95.

The book surveys the entire gamut of the organisation for and the administration of school education at the local, state and federal levels, in the U.S.A. in the context of a detailed consideration of the basic principles and emerging concepts of administration as applied to education. The study is enriched by an attempt "to incorporate significant related concepts from social psychology, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and political science, as well as from studies sponsored by the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration and from development growing out of the Co-operative Programme in Educational Administration". The role of the educational administrator

is, we are told, much more of leadership than is generally conceived. "The administration of the schools in accord with established policies is relatively easy and nonhazardous compared to the problem of leading." Towards the end of each chapter the author considers extensively important contemporary problems and issues relating to its subject-matter, as he feels that "future leaders in educational administration must be able to help people identify important emerging issues and to provide leadership in developing procedures designed to bring about their solution". Both in regard to the formulation and application of concepts and principles of educational administration, the book has ample food for thought for its Indian readers.

INDIA'S PARLIAMENT (For Youngsters); By KAILASH CHANDRA, New Delhi, Rama Krishna and Sons, 1958, vi, 89p., Rs. 3.75.

The book explains to young boys and girls what laws are, how Parliament makes laws, how the Government works, how elections are held and what Members of Parliament do. The two distinguishing features of the work are authenticity and simplicity of language. (The author is at present the Secretary of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs of the Government of India.)

PATNA UNIVERSITY, BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION; December 1958 (Vol. 3, Nos. 1-3), v, 75p., Rs. 3.

Devoted to promoting the study of public administration, the present issue of the Bulletin contains three informative lectures delivered at the Institute of Public Administration, Patna University : (1) "Military Administration in Peace and War" by

General K.S. Thimayya, Chief of the Army Staff; (2) "The Changed Role of the Civil Service in India", by Sardar Gurmukh Nihal Singh, Governor of Rajasthan; and (3) "The Old Set-up and the New", by Maharaja Shri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, Governor of Mysore. The issue in addition has two interesting contributions—"Creation of Tirhut Division", by S.V. Sohoni, Commissioner, Patna Division, and "Some Requisites of Democracy", by P.S. Muhar, Director of the Patna University Institute. The latter, as the Managing Editor of the Bulletin, has also contributed a thought-provoking editorial on "Change in the Administrative Landscape".

SYSTEMS AND PROCEDURES—A Handbook for Business and Industry: Ed. VICTOR LAZZARO, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1959, xv, 464p., \$10.00.

WORK MEASUREMENT ; By VIRGIL H. ROTROFF, New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1959, 203p., \$4.85.

The first publication—The Handbook—"brings together information on the various systems and procedures techniques...into a simple comprehensive volume that can be used as a ready reference by readers interested in acquiring a general knowledge of the subject". The techniques covered include "The Systems Study", "Systems Charting", "The Management Audit", "Work Simplification", "Work Measurement", "Forms Designs and Control", "Records Management", "Tabulating Equipment in Business", "Electronics in Business", "Work Sampling in the Office" and "Management Research". The chapter on each of these techniques is written by a recognised authority in the field.

The second book describes, in simple language free from technical jargon, the nature, scope, objectives and mechanics of "Work Measurement" in industry. Work measurement is conceived as vital to control of labour cost; "the greatest benefits from work measurement techniques are obtained in multi-product plants where control of manufacturing cost is most difficult to accomplish".

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND THE EMPIRE STATE—A Case Study of New York State Administration, 1943-54; By BERNARD RUBIN, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1958, xiii, 357p., \$7.50.

Conceiving "Public Relations" as a "two-way" communication process and distinguishing it clearly from "publicity" (which forms only a part of it), the author regards public relations as an organised activity of government vital to the functioning and future of democracy. Public relations in government, the author feels, "must be based rigidly on the truth";...public relations officer must present to the public the information that is the principal substance in the popular decision-making process. The bitter and the sweet must be brought forth even if the facts do not enhance a particular administration... The author then attempts to relate the concepts of public relations in a democratic state to the actual experience of the New York State Administration, during the tenure of Governor Thomas E. Dewey from 1943 to 1954.

The public relations programmes of the New York State, which are studied, include among others, those relating to the promotional activities of the State Department of Commerce; to the welfare activities of the State Departments of Mental Hygiene, Health, Social Welfare and Education and the State University

of New York; and to the regulatory activities of the State Department of Conservation, Correction and Civil Service. Special-purpose programmes of selected state agencies are surveyed, as also the likely future role of television and public opinion research. A full chapter is devoted to public relations personnel, assessing the work of selected men and women responsible for the various public relations programmes. The author's analysis reveals that the public relations programmes of government agencies in New York State are usually based on a series of specific objectives that vary in substance, though not in basic reasoning. These

objectives, as seen by the public relations officers, are founded on a realistic appraisal of specific obligations and are unphilosophical in tone. In order that the public relations programme should be able to fulfil its basic objective—to educate and to make the public and the administration more appreciative of each other's needs and difficulties—, Mr. Rubin considers it essential that it should be centred on behaviour rather than on information and that the public relations officer should, in addition to having a knowledge of the mass media, "be a highly respected individual well known for his penchant for the truth".

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SOME ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW*

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INTERNATIONAL law, as you know, is mainly a law between sovereign States, and States are very difficult things to administer. Being sovereign, they are touchy. They do not like to be told what they should do. Consequently the administration of international law presents problems of peculiar difficulty. Administration has been defined as the management of men and materials to achieve desired ends. Some may say that the management of states is not administration but politics. Even if this is true, each state has the responsibility of administering international law in its own territory if it is to avoid reclamations by other states.

International law, however, though mainly between States, extends to relations of individuals at opposite sides of national boundaries, to relations of individuals with States under the recent conceptions of "human rights", and to relations of individuals with international organizations, especially individuals on the staff of these organizations or inhabiting internationally administered territories. Such relations are dealt with by legal disciplines called "transnational law",¹ "Conflict of laws",² "World law"³ and "United Nations law",⁴ but are aspects of "international law" in a broad sense. There are therefore a variety of problems which may be spoken of as administrative problems in international law.

I am going to discuss briefly five such problems. The first is national administration of international law. How do States arrange

* Text of a lecture delivered at the I.I.P.A. on September 10, 1958.

1. Philip C. Jessup. *Transnational Law*, New Haven, 1956.

2. In civil law countries this is called 'Private International Law'.

3. Louis Sohn, *Cases and other Materials on World Law*, Brooklyn, 1950; Saburo Yamada, ed., *Natural Law and World Law*, Essays in honour of Kotaro Tanaka, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Japan, Yuhikaku, 1954.

4. Louis Sohn, *Cases on United Nations Law*, Brooklyn, 1956.

for the observance of international law each within its own jurisdiction? The second may be called indirect international administration—How do international organizations induce States to administer international law? The third may be called direct international administration—How do international organizations administer territories in which they have special responsibilities such as Trustee-ship territories? The fourth is international administrative law—How do international organizations administer their own staffs? and that, perhaps, is the problem which comes nearest to public administration in the usual sense. The fifth is the co-ordination of international agencies—How can the activities of different international organizations be co-ordinated with one another?

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Taking up the first of these, the administration of international law by States, we observe that the State is a very complicated organism. Many of the civil servants of a State and a larger proportion of its citizens have never heard of international law. States may inadvertently violate international law through acts of their officers or of individuals within their territories. Of course, primary responsibility for administering international law is vested in the supreme government of the State, the "representative organ",⁵ to which other States, injured by such negligence, as well as by intentional action, may make complaints. Because of this responsibility, nearly all States, make provision for assuring that they will not violate international law inadvertently. One finds in the legislation of nearly all States provisions for the protection of diplomatic officers, for the prevention of unauthorized military expeditions leaving the State's territories, for the observance of international law by courts in cases dealing with aliens, and so forth. In the United States for example there is a code of "offences against the law of nations" which provides punishment for many of these offences.⁶ By such legislation the State assures that it will not inadvertently violate international law through the action of individuals within its jurisdiction.

In many States direct judicial application of international law is possible. There has been much discussion whether national courts ought to apply international law and treaties directly. The doctrine applied by the Supreme Court of the United States for many years was that international law is part of the law of the land and the courts apply it in appropriate cases, provided there is no clear legislation to

5. Quincy Wright, *The Control of American Foreign Relations*, New York, 1922, p. 15.

6. *Ibid.* pp. 179ff.

the contrary. In the famous case of the *Paquete Habana*,⁷ the court took this position, and the case books are full of cases in which the courts of the United States and other countries have applied international law.

It may be noticed that in national courts, international law is not the highest authority. The principle of national sovereignty means that if the highest legislative authority passes an Act which violates international law, the courts will have to apply that act. There has been much discussion of this problem which is known among jurists as the problem of "Monism" and "Dualism".⁸ There are internationalists who say that international law is supreme all over the world, that courts must apply that law, and declare that any statute of their country contrary to that law is null and void. In practice, however, national courts do not do that although international courts do. National courts are creations of the nation and they have to apply the legislation of the highest national authority, although they will usually attempt to interpret that legislation as being in accordance with international law. They assume that the legislature did not intend to violate international law.⁹ In the case of the *American Banana Company vs. the United Fruit Company*,¹⁰ the Supreme Court of the United States was asked to apply the Sherman anti-Trust Law to end a monopoly or restraint of trade which was alleged to have been established by the United Fruit Company in the State of Costa Rica. The court recognized that this legislation provided that *all* combinations in restraint of trade should be penalised, but the term "all", it said, must be construed according to the usual understanding of international law, that the legislation of a State extends only to its own territory, and consequently it could not reach out to punish the alleged combination in the independent State of Costa Rica. The court has subsequently made some modifications of this principle, and has held that actions in foreign countries which seek to violate the Anti-Trust Law within the United States may be subjected to penalty if the individuals involved are within the United States.

Many countries do not apply this principle of automatic incorporation of international law in national law. Their courts hold that international law can be applied only in so far as specific legislation has been passed giving national effect to the rule of international law in question. This principle imposes a burden on legislative bodies to

7. 175 U.S. 677; Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

8. Ruth D. Masters, *International Law in National Courts*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 11ff.

9. *Murray Vs. the Charming Betsey*, 2 Cranch 64, 118 (1804); Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 165, 175.

10. 219 U.S. 347 (1909).

pass the appropriate laws to assure that international law will be applied by the courts.

In addition to legislative and judicial action, international law may be maintained within the State by administrative action. Administrative officials within a nation ought to make suitable provisions for the protection of foreign embassies, for the protection of foreign sovereigns who may be travelling in the territories, etc. These are responsibilities which every State must discharge, but States are also bound to exercise due diligence to protect aliens in the territory. If the State neglects to provide for suitable protection to aliens or denies them justice in its courts it may be liable to pay reparation to the State of which the alien is a National.

A most important aspect in the administration of international law concerns action by the highest executive authority itself. That authority is less likely to violate international law, if the custom is established in foreign offices of always consulting the law officers before a decision is made. That seems to me perhaps the most important way through which the observance of international law can be assured. A few years ago, Lord McNair published the opinions of the law officers of the British Crown from 1652-1902. This exhibited the extent to which the British Foreign Office had had legal advice before it acted, in order that it might know whether a proposed decision was in accordance with international law or not. In the United States, there is a similar procedure. The Legal Adviser has a corps of 20 or more lawyers, and on every problem that comes up legal advice is asked. Now, of course, asking advice is one thing and following it is another. In McNair's compilation, the introduction noted that public access was not permitted to the opinions of the law officers after 1902. For 50 years or more such opinions are kept secret. Sometimes the opinions of law officers are not followed and naturally the Government does not want its diplomatic antagonist to be able to charge that it does not follow the opinion of its own law officers. The other point which Lord McNair made is that the opinions which he records do not indicate whether they were actually observed and he adds he did not explore diplomatic history to discover to what extent they were because he is not a diplomatic historian. Professor Percy Corbett has recently published a book entitled *Law in Diplomacy*, which deals with this point in respect to Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Governments do not like to take steps contrary to the opinion of their law officers, although, as Corbett indicates, they usually do if they think "vital national interests" require. The custom of consulting the law officers before a decision is made in the

Foreign Office is however important in preventing violations of international law through inadvertence.

INDIRECT INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Now I come to problems which call indirect administration of international law by international organizations. These organizations, which have proliferated since the Universal Postal Union was established in 1870 and especially since the establishment of the League of Nations and the United Nations, seek to induce Governments to observe international law, particularly the rules which they have accepted in ratifying the constitution of the organization. International organizations, however, cannot generally coerce their members. The Charter of the United Nations provides that coercive authority can be used only in case a State has committed a breach of the peace, threat to the peace, or act of aggression. (Art. 39). Only when faced by these most serious violations of international law, arising from the principle of the Charter, which prohibits the use of force or threat of force (Art. 2, par. 4), can the United Nations even in theory exercise coercive power against States, and the theory is reduced in practice by the great power veto in the Security Council. This authority has, however, come into play a number of times. The Security Council, or if it fails to function the General Assembly, can issue cease-fire orders and call upon its members to apply armed force against a State which fails to observe such an order. Today cease fire lines exist in the middle of Germany, Korea, Vietnam, Kashmir and Palestine. These "temporary" cease fire lines some of which have been in existence more than a decade indicate that the United Nations and other international agencies are more successful in stopping hostilities than in settling the disputes which led to them.

The authority of international agencies is usually limited to recommendation. The UN General Assembly and Councils can make recommendations on the merits of controversies which are within the general scope of the Charter but these are not usually obligatory. Recommendations may be divided into two classes. The United Nations may recommend that a State observe an obligation of international law or treaty which it has neglected. Such a recommendation addressed to a particular State may be regarded as an "intervention". Intervention implies "dictatorial" interference, consequently a recommendation addressed to a particular State telling it what to do may be regarded as intervention even though no coercive action is threatened if it fails to conform. Consequently Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which states that the United Nations cannot intervene in a matter which is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, would be violated if the matter were domestic. This form of recommendation

can, therefore, be made only on matters which are not within the domestic jurisdiction of the State. What is the meaning of "domestic jurisdiction?" The principle is very simple. Every matter is within the domestic jurisdiction of a State except those which concern its international obligation. A State can not, in principle, give final judgment on its international obligations. So in determining the form of recommendation it is necessary to ask in the matter in hand, is the State under an international obligation of customary international law or treaty? If it is, then the United Nations is competent to make a recommendation directly to the State alleged to be delinquent. As you know, the General Assembly has made many recommendations in regard to the treatment by the South African Union of Indians and natives in South Africa, and the Union government has refused to pay attention to these recommendations on the ground that the treatment of persons within South Africa is a matter of its domestic jurisdiction and, therefore, the recommendations of the General Assembly are *ultra vires*. That argument raises the question whether the provisions of the Charter concerning Human Rights, and agreements which have been made between India and South Africa, constitute "international obligations." It might seem desirable to ask the opinion of the International Court of Justice on this question but that has never been done. So you have the situation of the General Assembly, time after time, passing a recommendation on this matter and South Africa, time after time, saying it can ignore the recommendation. The issue is a legal one and should be settled by the court.

The other kind of recommendation is of a general character, addressed to all members. The Economic and Social Council or the General Assembly may recommend a conference to codify the law of the seas, or recommend that States make treaties prohibiting genocide or protecting human rights, or that all States enact social security legislation. That sort of general recommendation, addressed to all Members of the United Nations or all of a special category, is not considered intervention. Consequently the General Assembly or the Council are not forbidden to make such recommendations by Art. 2, par. 7, even though the subject matter is within the domestic jurisdiction of States, and they do so very freely.

Such recommendations strictly speaking, do not concern the administration of international law. They may be recommendations for the improvement of international law. They may seek to support the purposes or the principles of the United Nations but not to enforce the obligations of the members.

Apart from recommendations, specific or general, the U.N. may exert 'influence' by discussion or diplomacy: States may fear that

influence and seek to prevent issues from being debated in United Nations organs. France for example, tried to prevent debate on the Algerian issue in 1955. It was so disturbed when the question was put on the agenda of the General Assembly that it withdrew its delegation, alleging that this matter was within its domestic jurisdiction. This action was considered by most members contrary to the spirit of the Charter, although in this case, France was induced to return its delegation by the Indian motion, to remove the Algerian issue from the agenda without prejudice. It was the general opinion, however, that discussion is not intervention.¹¹ Until a matter has been discussed it can not be known whether any resolution which might be proposed would involve international obligation. At the San Francisco Conference it was generally accepted that the United Nations should be free to discuss anything within the scope of the Charter. The influence of discussion, even if no recommendation emerged, would, it was thought, contribute to peace.

The other way of bringing influence is by diplomatic activity. The Secretary-General may discuss problems directly with the Governments and thus exert a very important influence. The scope of the Secretary-General's diplomatic powers is not fully set out in the Charter, but it may be inferred that he is competent to go to the capitals of the member-states and talk with them about the problems which may come before the U.N. If the members can send Ambassadors to the seat of the U.N., as they do, it would seem that the Secretary General should be able to send an Ambassador to the capital of each member-state. In other words, the Secretary-General should have diplomatic access to all the Members of the U.N. Many people say this is inherent in his position as administrative head of the U.N. (Art. 97). Furthermore, the charter authorizes the Secretary-General to inform the Security Council of threats to peace (Art. 99), a function which may require such diplomatic contact. The Hungarian Government, however, refused to invite the Secretary-General to come to its territory to discuss the situation in 1956. Many thought Hungary was obligated under the Charter to welcome such a visit. This kind of influence may be very important as illustrated by Secretary-General Hammar-skjold's visits to China, the Middle East and other areas in times of emergency.

There seems to have been some difference in the policy of the two Secretaries-General in this field. Trygve Lie's policy was to mobilize public opinion behind the U.N. when a crisis arose involving Charter principles. He suggested that the Communist government should

11. Quincy Wright, "Is Discussion Intervention?" *Am. Journ. Int. Law*, Jan. 1956, Vol. 50, p. 102.

represent China in the U.N. because it alone could discharge U.N. responsibilities in China. The U.S., however, was not in favour of this. When Korea was invaded, Trygve Lie came out definitely for the mobilization of U.N. forces against North Korea, and the Soviet Union was opposed to this. Mr. Lie's policy, therefore, continually got him into trouble with one Great Power or another. The Soviet Union eventually became so antagonist that it would not receive communications from him and he had to resign. Mr. Hammarskjöld has been more cautious. While there might be occasions for mobilising public opinion behind U.N. principles, he has considered his main job to adjust differences and to do this he must win the confidence of all the Great Powers by a reputation for impartiality. The capacity of the Secretary-General to conciliate, to mediate, and to negotiate is important but the capacity to mobilize public opinion behind the General Assembly Resolutions may also be important. These two functions may conflict, but in the situation of high international tension, the exertion of influence by the Secretary-General through conciliation may be more useful.

Apart from the diplomatic activity of the Secretary-General, the United Nations exerts influence by sending mediators or commissions of conciliation to disturbed areas to settle disputes as Ralph Bunche to the Middle East and Frank Graham to Indonesia and Kashmir. Some think that such conciliatory functions must be the main reliance of the U.N. in maintaining peace.

By making studies, publishing documents, broadcasting the results of these studies by specialists on such subjects as education, labour, trade, health, the U.N. and the Specialized Agencies can, in the long run, influence the behaviour of peoples and Governments because they realize that the national interest requires that the advice implied in this information be followed. This activity, however is an exertion of influence to promote co-operation for human welfare rather than an exertion of influence to maintain international law.

Other indirect modes of inducing States to observe international standards are to help them achieve what they want by technical assistance. U.N. policy is continually forwarded by technical assistance programmes. The International Bank can utilize this method with special effectiveness because it has funds at its disposal. The Bank has undoubtedly contributed to the solution of the Indus waters dispute between India and Pakistan. While this activity does not usually concern international law, technical assistance programmes have been authorized to assist States to carry out their obligations in respect to human rights.

Central Governments have often influenced States in federations by grants-in-aid. In the U.S., Congress usually makes such grants-in-aid, contingent on the observance of certain standards. There is no limit to the use of this method by the General Assembly, if its members will vote the appropriation.

Another method of inducement is through the work of commissions not to conciliate a dispute but to establish rules or standards. The League of Nations functioned through such commissions which consisted partly of administrative officials of the Governments concerned, and partly of international experts in the field. This is the procedure which Alexander Loveday, head of the economics section of the League Secretariat, favoured. He thought the best means of international administration was to get the responsible officials of the Governments concerned on a commission, in which they came in close contact with experts of an international organization with a technical and international point of view. If they committed themselves to a policy in such a commission, since they were responsible officials in their own Governments, they could carry out that policy. In the United Nations, this system has been less used because the Soviet Union wanted all commissions to be composed only of government officials.¹²

Another way to influence States is through the impartial determination of law. The principal organs of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies are competent to ask advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice.¹³ These opinions are merely advisory and, according to the Eastern Carelia case, cannot deal directly with the merits of a dispute between States, but an advisory opinion of the Court, dealing with a matter of international procedure, often indirectly affects the settlement of a pending controversy and may have considerable influence upon the States. In fact, advisory opinions often provided the basis for the adjustment of disputes by the League of Nations.¹⁴ They have been less used by the United Nations.¹⁵

The Security Council and the General Assembly can also recommend that the parties to a dispute submit the case to arbitration or adjudication (Art. 36, par. 3). Such recommendations are not binding. The British Government in the Corfu Channel case tried

12. A. Loveday, "An Unfortunate Decision," *International Organization*, June, 1947, Vol. 1, pp. 279ff.

13. Status of Eastern Carelia, P.C.I.J. 1923, Ser. B, No. 5, Hudson, *World Courts Reports*, Vol. 1., pp. 190ff.

14. As in the Mosul Case, P.C.I.J., 1925, Ser. B. No. 12, Hudson, W.C.R., Vol., 1, pp. 722ff.

15. Shabtai Rosenne, "The International Court of Justice and the United Nations," *International Organization*, May, 1955, Vol. 9., pp. 244ff.

to rest the Court's jurisdiction on such a recommendation but the Court held against it.¹⁶ The Court has held rigidly to the principle that its jurisdiction rests on consent of the parties. If an international court has jurisdiction its decisions are legally binding upon the parties.

Influence may be exerted through the relations of United Nations Organization with private groups within the State. The International Labour Organization under its first Director, Albert Thomas, established close relations with trade unions in the member-states. The unions as well as employer organizations are represented in the I.L.O. and continually bring pressure upon their Governments to carry out the provisions of I.L.O. Conventions. The United Nations recognizes many 'Non-Governmental Organizations' (N.G.Os.). These organizations have access to certain meetings of the Economic and Social Council and other organs of the U.N. Their representatives have the opportunity to learn what is going on in the United Nations, and, from this knowledge, may be in a position to bring pressure upon their Governments to observe United Nations principles and treaty obligations.

Investigatorial commissions are another avenue of influence. The United Nations Charter provides (Art. 34) that the Security Council may decide to investigate whether a dispute is likely to endanger international peace and security. Can an investigating commission be sent within the territory of a State without that State's consent? This has been a controversial question. The General Assembly can make recommendations for such investigation, but it has usually agreed that the commission should not go into the territory of a State, without that State's consent. This question was raised in the issue between Israel and Egypt in 1956. Egypt invited a U.N. commission and a United Nations force to come within its territory. The Secretary-General, then asked Israel to do the same but Israel refused and the Secretary-General did not attempt to send the force into Israel's territory. Some believe that Articles 104 and 105 of the Charter oblige members to admit such commissions if necessary to carry out purposes set forth in the Charter. If an investigating commission is explicitly authorised by the Security Council in pursuance of its responsibility to maintain international peace and security, it seems clear that the States are obliged to permit the commission to go into the territory of the states concerned. Article 25 of the Charter requires the members to observe the decisions of the Security Council.

16. I.C.J., *Rep.*, 1947-48, p. 15.

The sending of investigating commissions, within the territory of States, may prove to be a procedure of increasing importance: inspection commissions to assure observance of disarmament agreements and policing forces to maintain cease fire lines involve the same principle. If a permanent police force is established its utility would be reduced if it could not be sent within the borders of a State, unless explicitly authorized by the veto-ridden Security Council.

Finally, in a few cases, resolutions of United Nations organs and organs of Specialized Agencies are legally binding. This is so only if States have by treaty agreed in advance to accept such a resolution. Under international law, no State is bound by a new rule of law without its consent. In certain of the Specialized Agencies, *e.g.*, the Universal Postal Union, the constitution provides that certain regulations, made by organs of the agency, are binding. The States administering Trust territories are legally bound by General Assembly resolutions in this field. The peace treaty gave the General Assembly power to dispose of the former Italian colonies.

These are the methods by which international organizations can bring pressure and exert influence upon States to induce the observance of international law or the policies of the United Nations.

DIRECT INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Some of the areas in which an international organization has direct responsibility are Trusteeship areas. These are administered by States chosen with consent of the United Nations. The latter has complete powers of supervision and investigation. The Trusteeship Council under authority of the General Assembly can receive petitions from the area, hear petitioners in person, send representatives to such areas, hear reports from the administering powers annually (Art. 87) and make recommendations or decisions in regard to the behaviour of the administering state (Art. 85). In this activity there is no question of intervening in the domestic jurisdiction of that State. The supervisory competence of the United Nations is complete. It can arrange for terminating the trusteeship of the area by recognizing its independence as proposed for French Togoland and Cameroons or by incorporation of the area in a neighbouring self-governing territory as in the case of British Togoland, united with the Gold Coast to form the State of Ghana.

The "non-self-governing territories", which include all the colonial areas other than the Trusteeships, are referred to in Article 73 of

the Charter. The responsibility of the United Nations in regard to them, is one of the most controversial matters in the United Nations. The colonial government is obliged to report on economic, social and educational matters [Art. 73(e)]. The provisions of the Charter provide in addition that one of the obligations of the administering authority is to develop self-government [Art. 73(b)]. The General Assembly has assumed that this permits it to inquire into the political situation in order to ascertain whether the colonial power is really developing self-government in the colony. The colonial powers have objected to this. They have said "you are trying to convert a non-self-governing territory into a trusteeship territory." On this matter there have been vigorous debates in the General Assembly between the colonial powers, mostly Western European, and the Afro-Asian Group. In principle, it is difficult to deny the right of the General Assembly to debate the question of non-self-governing territories and to make recommendations if it is convinced that some of the "obligations" undertaken as a "sacred trust" under Article 73 of the Charter have not been carried out.

The scope of the term 'non-self-governing territory' is very controversial. Algeria would usually be considered a non-self-governing territory, and is so considered by a vast majority of its inhabitants. France however has said that it is a part of Metropolitan France. The General Assembly's position has been that the General Assembly can decide. The United States had treated Puerto Rico as a non-self-governing territory, but after the passage of the Commonwealth Act by Congress and its acceptance by Puerto Rico, the United States informed the General Assembly that now Puerto Rico had become self-governing. The General Assembly said, "we will look into it." They looked into the matter and concluded that Puerto Rico did have self-government but passed a formal resolution asserting that the General Assembly had the power to determine what is a non-self-governing territory, had investigated the status of Puerto Rico, and had decided that it was no longer a "non-self-governing territory." The colonial powers had insisted that this power did not belong to the General Assembly, but the Assembly has in fact exercised it.

There have been other internationalized areas. The Saar Valley and Danzig, two small European areas, were administered directly by the League of Nations. Trieste was, according to the Treaty of Peace with Italy, to be an internationalized area to be administered directly by the United Nations. This programme was never carried out, because the Security Council could not agree on an administrator. The deadlock was finally broken by agreement dividing the area between

Italy and Yugoslavia. The Assembly resolution of 1947, partitioning the mandated territory of Palestine, provided for the internationalization of Jerusalem, but this, also, has not been implemented. The area has been divided between Israel and Jordan *de facto* but not *de jure*.

The U.N. headquarters in New York City is an enclave which the United Nations administer directly. It is outside of the police authority of New York and of the United States as a foreign embassy. The same is true of the headquarters of other international organizations in other capitals.

There have been proposals to internationalize much larger areas. President Eisenhower proposed that the Antarctic might be internationally administered for the benefit of science. What he was proposing was an international administration of this huge area, now inhabited only by penguins, without raising the issue of claims to sovereignty by eleven States. If uranium were discovered under the icebergs, the Antarctic might become a source of dangerous rivalry among these States unless such a project is accepted. He has made a similar proposal in regard to outer space.

Others have suggested that the bed of the sea beyond the continental shelf might well be administered by the United Nations. One can see that extension of national claims in many portions of the sea bed might lead to international friction. For instance, the countries bordering the Gulf of Mexico on the Persian Gulf might develop serious conflicts over oil exploitation. So some say let us now place a definite limit to the extent of the bed of the sea which can be claimed by the shore State, and give the rest to the United Nations. Then, when it becomes possible to exploit the resources, the company must get a licence from the United Nations. As in the case of the Antarctic and outer space, there may here be a very good opportunity for direct international administration.¹⁷

INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE LAW

Here an important problem is that of administering the staffs of the various international organizations. At the present time, there are about 10,000 international civil servants mostly on the staffs of the U.N. and the Specialized Agencies. The Charter of the United Nations provides that the members of the Secretariat shall be subject to instruction only by the Secretary-General (Art. 100) and other international organizations usually operated on the same principle. The staff members must be loyal to their

17. Arthur Holcombe, ed., *Strengthening the United Nations*, (10th report to the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace) New York, 1957, pp. 41, 208ff.

organization. This may involve serious problems of conflict of loyalty to the State of which the individual is a national. Supposing a civil servant is given the job of arranging for the organization of sanctions against his country. Probably the United Nations would use some one who is not a national of the country against which it is exercising sanctions, but such a problem might arise on less important matters.

The issue of maintaining the immunity of international civil servants has been raised in connection with the investigation of members of the United Nations Secretariat by American Congressional and Senatorial Committees. According to some American legislators, the Secretariat was infiltrated with Communists. Of course there are Communists in the Secretariat because all member countries expect some persons of their nations to be appointed. But it would seem that even if there were American Communists on the staff of the Secretariat they should be responsible to the Secretary-General alone for their actions in discharge of their duties. But the view of the Congressional Committee was that these American nationals who were in the Secretariat were probably engaged in Communist activities hostile to the United States and should be fired if they refused to respond to questions of the Committees. Pressure was brought on Trygve Lie, the then Secretary-General, and he did discharge some members of the Secretariat, who had been accused by the American Congressional Committees. Many people thought the Secretary-General should have forbidden any member of the Secretariat to appear before such national commissions, asked for evidence that such persons were engaged in subversive activities, then conducted his own investigation and, if it sustained the charges, taken appropriate action. Article 100 of the Charter of the United Nations says : "(1) In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization. (2) Each member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities."

It seems clear that the investigation of an American citizen member of the Secretariat, by an American Congressional Committee would be likely to influence the behaviour of that person. The person knowing that his Government had its eye on him, would probably say, "I will never say or write anything which a future Senator McCarthy might regard as subversive."

It seems to me that Members of the Secretariat should be subject to investigation only by the Secretary-General. I think this accords with sound principles of public administration generally, and is particularly applicable to an organization which is entitled to immunity from local jurisdiction as are foreign embassies and international secretariats.

Now, we come to difficult problems in connection with the recruitment of international civil servants. Governments of large States usually recognize that some consideration should be given to the geographical origin of civil servants. This is especially true in federal unions whose member states will protest if denied fair representation in the federal civil service. In the U.N. this is more important, and in fact, there is an explicit statement in the Charter that "due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible" in addition to "the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity." (Art. 101, par. 3).

Of course, each member of the U.N. brings pressure on the Secretary-General to get a fair share of appointments but some of the members do not have many nationals who know the official languages or have the technical qualifications. This is for the Secretary General to decide but he must seek wide distribution of the jobs among the members.

Sound public administration requires protection of the rights of the civil servant. The General Assembly has provided regulations for the staff, which give security of tenure and specify conditions under which civil servants can be discharged. It has also established an administrative tribunal, as has the International Labour Organization. Decisions of these administrative tribunals are of legal character and cannot be overridden by the General Assembly itself. This was held by the International Court of Justice in connection with a case initiated by the U.S. After the Secretary-General had discharged some members of the staff under pressure from the United States, the Administrative Tribunal found that some of these cases violated the regulations. It therefore held that the Secretary-General must re-employ the persons or compensate them. The U.S. objected in the General Assembly to this decision, but that body passed a resolution requesting an advisory opinion of the International Court on the question. The Court advised that the Administrative Tribunal was designed to give binding judgments. Consequently, the General Assembly should appropriate funds to pay the compensation

required and this was done.¹⁸

Another issue has arisen in regard to administrative tribunals. The International Labour Organization has such a tribunal, and its statute provides that its judgments may be appealed to the International Court of Justice. The statute also provides that, on accepting these conditions, other Specialized Agencies could utilize the I.L.O. administrative tribunal. The Director-General of UNESCO discharged some members of the staff of UNESCO in Paris. These people brought claims for compensation to the ILO administrative tribunal. They were awarded compensation, and then UNESCO asked for the advisory opinion of the International Court on this question. But under the specified conditions in the tribunal statute the advisory opinion would have the character of an appeal and would be obligatory. The issue arose as to whether in the hearings before the Court, only the international organization that asked for the advisory opinion should be heard, or whether the individuals should be entitled to an equal hearing before the Court. Normally, the Court is open only for cases between States or for advisory opinions asked by international organizations. There is no regular procedure for an individual to be heard by the Court. Yet justice requires that in a litigated case the parties have an equal opportunity to be heard. The majority of the Court held that because UNESCO had been careful to allow the persons to prepare their cases in a written form and had submitted these briefs along with its own brief fair hearing had been given.¹⁹ This raised a very interesting question whether an advisory opinion should be refused unless all parties involved were given equal opportunity to be heard.²⁰

CO-ORDINATION OF ACTIVITIES OF INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

It has been suggested that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations should provide regulations to prevent duplication or multiplication of activity by the different Specialized Agencies, many of which have overlapping functions, and should supervise and co-ordinate these operations. Other means of co-ordination through supervision of the budgets of all the organizations by the United Nations, through establishment of uniform staff standards, and through close geographical and personal contacts of the Secretariats have also been suggested. The hope that efficient international administration might be forwarded by such methods has not been fully realized. It may be that a certain amount of competition among international organizations

18. I.C.J., *Rep.* 1954, p. 47; *Am. Journ. Int. Law*, 1954, vol. 48, p. 655.

19. *Ibid.*, 1956, 77; *Am. Journ. Int. Law*, 1957, Vol. 51, p. 410.

20. Leo Gross, "Participation of Individuals in Advisory Proceedings before the International Court of Justice", *Am. Journ. Int. Law*, Jan. 1958, Vol. 52, p. 16ff.

in some economic and social activities has advantages. Experience may prove that one organization can deal with a given problem more effectively than can another. Too much centralization may not be desirable but efficiency is also desirable.



"It is no easy task to keep bureaucracy politically responsible. The means do not lie in the direction of promoting a breakdown in the public service. Administrative leaders must be encouraged to exercise an appropriate initiative in the presentation and consideration of public policy. If external controls were to go so far as to bar the bureaucracy from the consideration of policy matters, then the political institutions of society would deny themselves the benefit of timely and expert advice. If the top talent of the public service were to be driven from the bureaucracy by inadequate salaries, slow promotion, or other unsatisfactory conditions of service, the political institutions of our society would have no answering response to their demand for administrative activity."

—JOHN D. MILLET

(in *"Government and Public Administration—The Quest for Responsible Performance"*)

TWO ESTIMATES COMMITTEES*

S. L. Shakdher

AMONG all the countries which follow the Commonwealth parliamentary system of procedure, the U.K., Canada and India¹ are the only countries which have the institution of Estimates Committee in their parliamentary system. In New Zealand, the Committee called the Public Accounts Committee is more akin to an Estimates Committee since its main duty is to examine all estimates prior to their consideration by the Committee of Supply.

Although the main conception behind the establishment of an Estimates Committee in the U.K. and India is the same, viz., that a representative committee of parliament should examine the details of estimates of expenditure of Government thoroughly from year to year in a selective way, the procedure and functions of the two committees differ in many respects. It is the purpose of this article to show how each one of the two committees has taken a path of its own and is functioning.

In the U.K., a Select Committee on Estimates was first formed in 1912. The Committee was re-appointed in 1913 and 1914. The outbreak of the war in 1914 brought to an end this short experiment and it was not till the end of July 1917 that a Select Committee on National Expenditure was formed from year to year. In 1921, the Select Committee on National Expenditure was not re-appointed and a Select Committee on Estimates was revived in its place. The Committee was re-appointed every year from 1921 till the outbreak of the last war. During the war years, 1939-45, a Select Committee on National Expenditure was appointed every year. In 1946, a Select Committee on Estimates was again appointed.

If one delves deeper, one finds it interesting to note that *ad hoc* committees, more or less the early counterparts of the Estimates Committee, have been in existence² since 1828. In 1828, a Select Committee

*This article is based on the first-hand knowledge of the writer of the working of the Estimates Committee in India and on the discussions which he had in London with the Clerk of the House and the Clerks of the Financial Committees of the House of Commons and the written material supplied by them later.

1. In India, beside an Estimates Committee in the Lok Sabha (House of the People), a majority of State Legislatures have formed Estimates Committees on the same model as at the Centre.

2. A complete review tracing the origin and development of the Estimates Committee in the U.K. through the centuries is contained in the Eleventh Report of the Committee on National Expenditure for the session 1943-44.

was appointed to consider what further regulations and checks should be adopted for establishing an effective control upon all charges incurred in the safe custody and application of public money and this committee was required to consider measures for reducing public expenditure. In 1848, three Select Committees were appointed to consider various classes of estimates. These Committees were appointed from year to year and in war periods, *e.g.*, during the Crimean War and Boer War, other committees to enquire into the condition of departments supplying the War Office contracts, etc. were formed. During the Boer War also a Select Committee on National Expenditure was appointed in 1902 and re-appointed in 1903.

In India, following a memorandum³ by Shri M.N. Kaul, then Secretary of the Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative), which was strongly commended for adoption by the then Speaker, Shri G.V. Mavalankar, the Estimates Committee was set up for the first time in 1950, after the present Constitution came into force. The Committee has been set up every year since then. There had been, however, a demand for the establishment of a Committee like the Estimates Committee since 1938. The non-official members of the then Central Assembly had regularly voiced a demand for a Committee with sufficient powers to examine the expenditure of the Government; but the Government of the day always shelved the proposal on one pretext or another.⁴

In the U.K., the Committee on Estimates is a sessional committee⁵ appointed on a Government motion from session to session. The motion contains the terms of reference of the Committee and also the names of members to be appointed to the Committee. Unlike the Public Accounts Committee, there is no mention of it in the Standing Orders of the House of Commons.

3. See the memorandum by Shri M.N. Kaul, Secretary, Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative), on the Reform of Parliamentary Procedure in India and the Notes thereon by Shri G.V. Mavalankar, Speaker, Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative). (Published by the Lok Sabha Secretariat).

4. On the 25th August, 1937, in reply to a Question in the Central Legislative Assembly the then Finance Member said that he did not propose to set up an Estimates Committee.

On the 8th April, 1938, during the discussion on a motion regarding the appointment of a retrenchment committee, in the Central Legislative Assembly, the then Finance Member showed his willingness to appoint instead an Estimates Committee provided a Government official was appointed its Secretary and the subjects to be examined by the Committee were selected by the Finance Department of the Government. The House rejected the proposal because they did not like the Committee to work in an "official atmosphere."

On the 14th March, 1944, during the debate on a cut motion in the Central Legislative Assembly, the then Finance Member agreed in principle to the appointment of an Estimates Committee, but said that he could not agree to its functioning immediately. (See L.A. Debates 1937, Vol. IV, pp. 506-7; 1938, Vol. III, pp. 2865-7 and 1944, Vol. II, p. 1072)

5. See May's *Parliamentary Practice* (Sixteenth Edition)—pp. 680-681.

In India, the Estimates Committee is a standing committee whose scope of functions, method of appointment and other ancillary matters are provided in the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha.⁶ The motion for the election of the Committee for the following year is moved in the Lok Sabha by the Chairman of the Committee some time (usually a fortnight) before the term of the current Committee comes to an end. The rules provide for election of members to the Committee by a system of proportional representation by single transferable vote. At the commencement of a new House, the first motion is made by a Minister of Government.

In the U.K., the number of members of the Committee is 36 and the quorum to constitute a meeting of the Committee is fixed at seven. The Indian Committee consists of 30 members and the quorum is one-third of the number of members.

In the U.K., the Chairman of the Committee is elected by the members of the Committee after it has been constituted. In India, the Chairman is nominated by the Speaker provided that if the Deputy Speaker is a member of the Committee, he becomes the Chairman of the Committee automatically. No member, who is a Minister (which includes a Deputy Minister and a Parliamentary Secretary), can be appointed a member of the Committee and if a member after appointment to the Committee is appointed a Minister, he ceases to be a member of the Committee.⁷ In the U.K. there is no such rule; but by convention, Ministers are not appointed Members of the Committee and similarly, if a member of the Committee is appointed a Minister of Government, another member would normally be appointed to the Committee in his place.⁸

In India, the functions of the Committee are laid down in the Rules of Procedure and the Directions by the Speaker issued from time to time, while in the U.K., the main terms of the Committee are stated in the motion and their amplitude and scope have been determined by conventions and practices from time to time. One of the interesting matters which has engaged the attention of the critics of the Indian Committee is that its terms of reference and their interpretation go possibly a little beyond its counterpart in the U.K. so far as questions of policy are concerned. There is no doubt that in the case of the Indian Committee, the functions have been set out in the Rules of Procedure and the Directions issued by the Speaker, while in the case

6. See Rules 310-312 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha (Fifth Edition).

7. See Proviso to Rule 311(1), *ibid.*

8. No formal provision exists for the resignation of a member from the Committee.

of the U.K. Committee one has to infer them mostly from the reports of the Committee and also from the descriptions of the various authors who have described the work and functions of the Committee in the U.K.

The functions of the Indian Committee are laid down as below :

- (a) to report what economies, improvements in organisation, efficiency or administrative reform, consistent with the policy underlying the estimates, may be effected;
- (b) to suggest alternative policies in order to bring about efficiency and economy in administration;
- (c) to examine whether the money is well laid out within the limits of the policy implied in the estimates; and
- (d) to suggest the form in which the estimates shall be presented to Parliament.

The Speaker, by a direction has defined the amplitude of the term 'policy' referred to in clause (a) above. The direction states that "the term 'policy' relates only to policies laid down by Parliament⁹ either by means of statutes or by specific resolutions passed by it from time to time."

The Direction further provides that—

"It shall be open to the Committee to examine any matter which may have been settled as a matter of policy by the Government in the discharge of its executive functions."¹⁰

9. Shri C.D. Deshmukh, the then Finance Minister, said in the course of his speech on the 23rd May, 1952, in Lok Sabha :

"I look forward to continuing assistance from the labours of the Estimates Committee in securing that, within the four corners of the *policy laid down by Parliament*, the money authorised to be spent by it are utilized to the best possible advantage without avoidable waste."

10. In 1958 a question was raised in Government circles and it was widely discussed in the press that the Estimates Committee had criticised policy matters and attention was in particular drawn to para 21 of the Twenty-First Report of the Estimates Committee on the Planning Commission. In this para the Committee had *inter alia* stated as follows:

".....while the Prime Minister's formal association was absolutely necessary during the formative stages and while he would still have to provide the guidance and assistance to the Planning Commission so as to facilitate the success of planning, it is a matter for consideration whether it is still necessary for him to retain a formal connection with the Planning Commission. Similarly, it would also have to be considered whether it is necessary to continue the formal association of the Finance Minister and other Ministers of the Central Government with the Commission....."

It is not correct to say that the Committee has criticised a policy laid down by Parliament. There has never been any formal parliamentary approval of the composition of the Planning Commission. The first announcement regarding the constitution of the Planning Commission was made in the President's Address to Parliament on the 31st January, 1950. Later during his Budget speech, the then Finance Minister, Dr. John Matthai, made an announcement about the personnel of the Commission.

It is interesting to note that Dr. John Matthai stated that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and not the Prime Minister, would be the Chairman of the Commission. None of the other members who were appointed to the Commission was a Minister of the then

With regard to clause (b) "the Committee shall not go against the policy approved by Parliament; but where it is established on evidence that a particular policy is not leading to the expected or desired results or is leading to waste, it is the duty of the Committee to bring to the notice of the House that a change in policy is called for."¹¹

"The fundamental objectives of the Committee are economy, efficiency in administration and ensuring that money is well laid out; but, if on close examination, it is revealed that large sums are going to waste because a certain policy is followed, the Committee may point out the defects and give reasons for the change in the policy for the consideration of the House."¹²

In the U.K. as stated above, the motion¹³ which is brought before the House every session for the appointment of the Committee states the terms of the Committee in the following words :

ESTIMATES

That a Select Committee be appointed to examine such of the Estimates presented to this House as may seem fit to the committee and to report what, if any, economies consistent with the policy implied in those estimates may be effected therein, and to suggest the form in which the Estimates shall be presented for examination.

Earlier writers who have written on the Estimates Committee in the U.K. have, broadly speaking, stated that the Committee avoids

Government of India. It is thus clear that the intention was to constitute the Commission purely with non-officials and Prime Minister's association was in his individual capacity and not as the Prime Minister. No resolution nor a Bill was brought before Parliament to define the strength of the Commission, the qualifications for membership, the proportion between Minister and non-Minister members or the functions of the Commission. They were all settled by a Government Resolution dated the 15th March, 1950.

The strength of the Commission was changed from time to time and all these changes were made by Government in its executive discretion and were never placed before Parliament for their approval. Therefore there can be no policy approved by Parliament in so far as this matter is concerned. It can at best be a policy settled by executive Government in the discharge of its executive functions to conduct the economic planning of the country. It is relevant to point out here that in U.K. such a body would have been constituted by an Act of Parliament, *vide* for instance The Atomic Energy Authority Act.

11. Direction No. 98 (3) issued by the Speaker.

12. Speaker, Shri M.A. Ayyangar, inaugurating the Estimates Committee in May 1959 said as follows :

"Your function is not to lay down any policy. Whatever policy is laid down by Parliament, your business is to see that that policy is carried out—not independently or divorced from its financial implications. You must bear in mind constantly that you are a financial committee and you are concerned with all matters in which finances are involved. It is only where a policy involves expenditure and while going into the expenditure you find that the policy has not worked properly, you are entitled and competent to go into it. Where the policy is leading to waste, you are entitled to comment on it in a suitable way."

13. House of Commons Deb. 1956-57 ; Vol. 561, Cols. 1645-46.

all questions of policy. None of the writers has however made it clear in a detailed manner as to what is intended by them by the term 'policy'. Clearly a Committee of Parliament can only be bound by the policy laid down by Parliament. It cannot be limited in its work by the policy that Government may have laid down in the discharge of its executive functions subordinate to the policies laid down by Parliament. It is also to be noted that much of the procedure in the House of Commons is regulated by conventions and the written rules are considerably supplemented by unwritten practices. It takes a long time for the conventions and practices to find their way into the text-books. However, Professor K.C. Wheare, a distinguished writer on constitutional matters, writing in 1955 described the position in the U.K. in the following terms :¹⁴

"It is not possible to argue in detail here the case for and against allowing or encouraging the committees to consider policy or merits. It may be asserted, however, that much of the usefulness and reputation of the Public Accounts Committee, which is regarded as the model of the scrutinizing committees of the House of Commons, comes from its interest in questions of wastefulness, which certainly trespass upon questions of policy. It is certain, too, that a great part of the usefulness of the Estimates Committee comes from its freedom in interpreting its terms of reference. There has been too much theoretical dogmatism about the proper functioning of these committees. Policy does not necessarily mean party policy, nor high policy. There are many questions of policy which members of a select committee, of differing parties, could investigate without dividing themselves into Government supporters and Opposition supporters. The experience of the National Expenditure Committee and the Estimates Committee has demonstrated that already. It is wise, no doubt, not to widen the terms of reference of the committees by empowering them in express terms to consider policy. It is much better that these discussions of policy should arise necessarily from discussions of economy and value for money and efficiency, rather than that they should be raised directly."

The author further says :¹⁵

"... some part of the interest which the Estimates Committee has aroused since 1945 is due to the fact that, in spite of the limitations in its terms of reference, it does in fact encroach,

14. K.C. Wheare, *Government by Committee*, p. 238.

15. *Ibid*, p. 237.

from time to time, upon the field of 'policy'. It is difficult, of course, to know where policy begins. It has long been accepted that the Public Accounts Committee is entitled to scrutinize expenditure not only from the strict point of view of audit but also from the point of view of waste and extravagance. Does not that lead them into questions of policy? It must be admitted that it can. Even more likely is it that the Estimates Committee in considering proposals for expenditure is likely to be led into judgements upon waste and extravagance, which are bound to lead to judgements upon the wisdom of the policy which led to this expenditure."

Also Sir Gilbert Campion (later Lord Campion), Editor of May's Parliamentary Practice for many years, summed up the position before the Select Committee on Procedure (1945-46) as follows :¹⁶

"Committees of the House of Commons on administrative matters are, in fact, advisory bodies used by the House for inquiry and to obtain information, and they generally inquire into definite happenings and criticise after the event, though as a result of the lessons they have learnt they may make suggestions for the future. It is difficult to see how such bodies could impair ministerial responsibility, even if matters of 'policy'—a very indefinite word—were assigned to them. If the House is not free to use them as it wishes, it is deprived, or deprives itself, of the most natural means of obtaining information and advice."

The above statements are amply borne out if a detailed study of the reports of the Estimates Committee in the U.K. is made. A statement prepared at random showing some of the recommendations, which touch upon policy matters, made by the Estimates Committee of the House of Commons is given in the *Notes* at the end of the article.

In the U.K., the Estimates Committee normally works through its Sub-Committees. A number of Sub-Committees—usually five or six—are appointed and the subjects which the Committee has taken up for consideration during the year are divided among the Sub-Committees by a Steering Sub-Committee (Sub-Committee 'A') which also considers the procedural and other matters relating to the working of the Committee. The Sub-Committees take evidence and formulate their reports which are then considered by the whole Committee.

In India, so far, the Sub-Committee system has been adopted only in one case, viz., consideration of the estimates relating to the Ministry of Defence. In that case, the Sub-Committee was authorised

16. H.C. 189-1 (1945-46), p. 244.

to take evidence and formulate its report which was then considered by the whole Committee. Otherwise, the Estimates Committee itself considers all the matters which it has taken up for consideration during the year. The Committee usually appoints Study Groups and divides the subjects among the Study Groups. The Study Groups make an intensive study of the subjects which have been allotted to them and the members of the Committee may generally acquaint themselves with all subjects before the Committee. The Committee as a whole takes evidence and then comes to conclusions. It may then entrust the work of formulating the first draft of a report to the Study Group. The draft of the Study Group report is submitted to the Chairman of the Committee who may accept it or make such further changes in it as he may like. The draft report is circulated to the members of the whole Committee as the Chairman's report and it is then considered in detail by the whole Committee.

In the U.K., there is a separate Select Committee on Nationalised Industries¹⁷ which has its own terms of reference. It is quite distinct from the Select Committee on Estimates since no estimates on these industries are laid before Parliament. The sphere of work of the Select Committee on Nationalised Industries is more comparable with (and indeed intentionally to some extent overlaps) that of the Committee on Public Accounts.

In India, at present the functions of examining Public Undertakings¹⁸ which include nationalised industries are discharged by the Estimates Committee itself. Until now the Committee as a whole selected subjects for examination and dealt with them in the same manner as the estimates of any other department or Ministry. Quite recently the Speaker has issued a direction constituting a Standing Sub-Committee of the Estimates Committee on Public Undertakings. This Sub-Committee will take evidence, formulate its report which may then be considered by the whole Committee. In effect, the Sub-Committee on Public Undertakings will work as an independent entity excepting that the selection of subjects to be considered by the

17. There are only eight such Nationalised Industries. The terms of reference of the Select Committee on Nationalised Industries are as follows:

"That a Select Committee be appointed to examine the reports and accounts of the Nationalised Industries established by statute whose controlling Boards are appointed by Ministers of the Crown and whose annual receipts are not wholly or mainly derived from moneys provided by Parliament or advanced from the Exchequer."

18. A public undertaking for the purposes of examination by the Estimates Committee has been defined in a direction of the Speaker as follows:

".....a public undertaking means an organization endowed with a legal personality and set up by or under the provisions of a statute for undertaking on behalf of the Government of India an enterprise of industrial, commercial or financial nature or a special service in the public interest and possessing a large measure of administrative and financial autonomy."

Sub-Committee will be made by the whole Committee and the draft report of the Sub-Committee will be considered by the whole Committee. The members of the Sub-Committee will also be selected by the Chairman of the Committee from amongst members of the Estimates Committee and the Sub-Committee will work under the guidance and directions of the Chairman of the Estimates Committee. This Committee will work on the same model as the Sub-Committee on Defence and it is to be seen how the experiment will work out in practice.

Both in the U.K. and India, work of the Estimates Committee begins after the estimates of expenditure have been presented to the House. But in the U.K., the Estimates Committee frequently reports before the final vote on the estimates takes place, so that the House may be in possession of the views of the Estimates Committee before it has finally accepted the proposals of the Government in relation to those matters which the Estimates Committee has taken up for consideration during the year. This is possible because the estimates are voted nearly 5 or 6 months after these have been presented to Parliament.¹⁹ It may, however, be pointed out that the consideration of estimates in the Committee of Supply is in no way contingent upon their previous consideration by the Estimates Committee.

In India, the reports of the Estimates Committee are submitted throughout the year irrespective of the fact that the House has voted the estimates. This is so because the estimates are presented to the House on the last day of February and they are passed before the end of April. In practice, the Estimates Committee has found it difficult to complete its work within the two months at its disposal. Legally and constitutionally, the reports of the Estimates Committee are not binding on the House or the Government. They are recommendations which the Government may accept or may feel bound not to accept because of various difficulties. Since the estimates are voted by Parliament in the shape of authorisations not exceeding certain upper limits, it is always open to Government to spend less and to accept the recommendations of the Estimates Committee and effect economy. In any case the views of the Estimates Committee would have been reflected in the next year's estimates and the House can always draw attention to the previous reports and call for explanations from the Minister concerned as to why the estimates have not been prepared after taking into account the recommendations of the Estimates Committee. In practice, therefore, there is sufficient time for the Estimates Committee to investigate thoroughly into the matters and

19. The Estimates are presented some time in February and they are finally voted in July or August.

make considered recommendations and for Government to examine the recommendations of the Committee with care and for the House to give its considered opinion after taking into account the views of the Committee and Government.

In India, it is open to the Committee to call for details in respect of expenditure charged on the Consolidated Fund of India. The Speaker has also directed the Committee to scrutinise whether the classification of estimates between 'voted' and 'charged' has been done strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and Acts of Parliament.

In the U.K., the Estimates Committee does not undertake any tours or study on the spot of the organisations which they are examining for the time being. Sub-Committees are however, given power to adjourn from place to place and have on occasions even travelled overseas (e.g., to Nigeria). The Sub-Committees would not normally visit the central offices of Ministries, but frequently visit outstations.²⁰ In India, the Study Groups or the Sub-Committee or the whole Committee make frequent visits throughout the year to the central or outstation offices of the various organisations, departments or Ministries which are under examination by them. They obtain a visual impression of the organisation as well as information from the officers on the spot. This is of course done informally and only with a view to make a thorough study of the subject. The formal evidence is taken and formal discussions take place later in the Committee room in Parliament House at which the information obtained as a result of the study tour is exchanged with top officials of the organisation and their considered views obtained. The report of the Committee is based mainly on the formal evidence and formal discussions that have taken place in the Committee room. When Committees are on a study tour, informal meetings may be held at the place of visit but at such meetings no decisions are taken or minutes recorded.

In the U.K., the sub-committees frequently call non-officials to give evidence if in their opinion the advice of a non-official is germane to the inquiry. In India, too, non-officials may be invited to appear before the Committee to give evidence on any matter before the Committee.²¹

20. Sub-Committee 'B' visited three Research establishments of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and the premises of the British Coal Utilisation Research Association and of the Printing, Packaging and Allied Trades Research Association. [Fifth Report (1957-58) from the Select Committee on Estimates on the Department of Scientific & Industrial Research].

21. Since 1953-54, the Estimates Committee has called many non-official witnesses to give evidence. In 1958-59 alone about 15 such witnesses were called. They included retired Government servants, representatives of private industry, experts, outstanding public men and M.Ps.

In the U.K., the meetings of the Committee or Sub-Committee are generally held during sessions of the House although by an authorisation from the House the Committee can meet during recess. The Committee or Sub-Committee generally meets for about 2 hours at a time. In India, on the other hand, the Committee, the Study Groups and the Sub-Committees meet throughout the year, whether the House is in session or not. There is no obligation on the part of the Committee to seek any authorisation from the House. The duration of the sittings of Committees varies from 3 to 6 hours a day.

In the U.K., the report is from the Committee to the House and the mode of address is "Your Committee". The report is not signed by the members of the Committee because the report contains conclusions of the majority of the members and the proceedings of the Committee show how the members voted and what their differences were. In India, the report is signed by the Chairman and is presented by him on behalf of the Committee. The mode of presentation of report is "I, the Chairman, having been authorised by the Committee to submit this report on their behalf, present the report". The proceedings of the Committee indicate the manner in which the report was considered and the names and the number of members who were present when the report was approved. So far the Committee has obtained unanimity on the conclusions which it has embodied in its reports. In one case only with regard to a particular matter in a report a member wished that his alternative view should be recorded in the minutes of the sitting of the Committee which was done. Sometimes, the Committee²² itself may indicate in the report that there was another view in the Committee which was not accepted or there was a majority view for a particular matter without indicating who were in the minority or majority. The Committee does not work on party lines and therefore there is a spirit of compromise and give and take and the matters are not pressed to division and no votes are recorded.

Both in India and the U.K. there are no minutes of dissent to the reports. In the U.K. the proceedings of the Committee indicate whether more than one draft report was presented and if so which one was taken up for consideration. The evidence given before the Committee is presented to the House along with the report although the Committee is not obliged to report all the evidence taken before it. The report also gives indications as to the part of the evidence on which the particular observations or recommendations contained in the report are based. The minutes are thus written very briefly and give no indication about the gist of evidence or trend of discussions in the

22. Such a procedure is prohibited under the U.K. practice.

Committee. In India, on the other hand, the evidence is not presented to the House nor is it printed or made available to anybody. It forms part of the record of the Committee. Consequently, minutes are written elaborately and they indicate the gist of the discussions that took place in the Committee. Such minutes are impersonal and they may only indicate the salient features of a particular point of view or an observation. These minutes are presented to the House along with the report or a little later. There has been some discussion about the merits and demerits of presenting verbatim evidence given before the Committee to the House and thus making it available to the Government and the public. The advantages are of course obvious inasmuch as it will give a complete background to the readers of the reports of the Estimates Committee as to the trend of discussion in the Committee and the volume and strength of opinion and the level at which it was expressed before the Committee. But those who advocate that the evidence should not be divulged argue that the officials of the Government and others who appear before the Committee should speak freely and frankly and give their opinions and observations on the various matters before the Committee. If it were known that the evidence would be made public or made available to their superiors the officials might perhaps refrain from expressing their candid opinions and may only give formal replies which may prevent the Committee from coming to correct conclusions. Secondly, the evidence is so voluminous that it may be very costly to get it printed and circulated. Furthermore, most of the evidence given by the officials is based on voluminous written material so that the evidence by itself may not be quite fully explanatory unless the other documents are also printed along with it and this may raise questions of editing and also questions of infringing the secrecy of documents.

In India, after the report is finalised by the Committee, it is sent to the Ministry or Department concerned for verification of facts contained therein. A copy is also sent to the concerned Financial Adviser for similar purpose. The idea is that the factual statements made in the report should be correct in all respects so that there is no dispute between the Committee and the Department as to the facts later on. The Ministries while communicating corrections of facts sometimes do give their comments on the recommendations contained in the report. The Committee may also consider the comments of the Ministry and if any new facts have been brought to their attention even at that stage the Committee may review its recommendations and amend or modify its earlier conclusions. The occasions on which the Committee has reconsidered its recommendations in the draft report have been very few firstly because the Ministries did not give their

comments on proposed recommendations and secondly only in very few cases any new facts were brought to the attention of the Committee to necessitate revision of its earlier conclusions. The Ministries are enjoined by a letter every time that the draft report should be kept secret before it is presented to the House. This direction of the Committee has always been followed by the Ministries and Departments.

In the U.K., the draft report is not sent to the Ministry for verification. The Committee finalises its report on the basis of the evidence given before it and the draft report is not shown to anybody before it is presented to the House. After the report is presented to the House, the Ministries are at liberty to give their minutes or comments on the reports and present them to the House. In some cases it has happened that Government has disputed the facts contained in the report of the Estimates Committee.²³

In India the recommendations of the Estimates Committee are, since 1958, classified at the end of each report in an Appendix under the following heads:

- (a) Recommendations for improving the organisation and working of the Department.
- (b) Recommendations for effecting economy—an analysis of more important recommendations directed towards economy is also given. Where possible, money value is also computed.
- (c) Miscellaneous or General recommendations.

It is however to be noted that the Committee does not proceed to analyse the figures comprising the Estimates with a view to seeking justification for each sum included in the Estimates just as a Budget Officer of the Government will do. Since the figures represent the activities of the Ministry or Department and the Committee is interested in examining those activities it scrutinizes them from the following points of view :

- (a) whether most modern and economical methods have been employed;
- (b) whether persons of requisite calibre on proper wages with necessary amenities and in right numbers have been put on the job;

23. See White Paper on the report on Foreign Office. The Estimates Committee presented to the House of Commons on the 10th December, 1954, its Seventh Report on the Foreign Service. On the 13th December, 1954, in answer to a question the Foreign Secretary referred to certain errors in the report. The Government subsequently presented a White Paper.

(H.C. Debates. Vol. 536, Cols. 682-3 and Appendix I of the Second Special Report of the Estimates Committee 1954-55.)

- (c) whether duplication, delays and defective contracts have been avoided;
- (d) whether right consultation has preceded the execution of the job; and
- (e) whether the production is worth the money spent on it.

In the U.K., the reports do not contain any classification of recommendations. In other respects the examination of the Estimates is conducted on the same lines as in India.

In India, no member of the Estimates Committee can be a member of a Committee appointed by Government for examination of a matter which is concurrently under the examination of the Estimates Committee, unless he has taken the permission of the Speaker before accepting nomination on the Government Committee. The Speaker, after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee, may either allow a member to be a member or Chairman of a Government Committee or advise him to decline²⁴ the offer. The member may if he is keen on accepting nomination on the Government Committee resign²⁵ from the Estimates Committee. Where, however, the Speaker has permitted a member of the Estimates Committee to be a member²⁶ or Chairman of a Government Committee on the same subject which the Estimates Committee had been examining then, he has always stipulated that the report of the Government Committee should be made available to the Estimates Committee and it should not be released for publication without the permission of the Estimates Committee or before the Estimates Committee has presented its own report on the same matter.²⁷

In the U.K., there are no such restrictions on the appointment of members of the Estimates Committee to the Committees appointed by Government for investigation of the same subject which is under the examination of the Estimates Committee.

(To be continued)

24. There is no such case so far.

25. (a) Shri Mahavir Tyagi, Member, Estimates Committee, resigned from the Committee on his appointment as Chairman of Government Committee regarding Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry (1958). The Estimates Committee had decided earlier to take up the examination of the Income-Tax Department.

(b) Shrimati Renuka Ray, Member, Estimates Committee (1958-59), resigned from the Committee on her appointment as a member of the Study Team on Social Welfare.

26. In cases where the Estimates Committee was not considering the same subject, the stipulation that the report of the Government Committee should be made available to the Estimates Committee was not made.

27. (a) Zaidi Committee report on Land Reclamation Project, 1953.

(b) Rau Committee on Damodar Valley Corporation, 1954.

(c) Enquiry Committee on Banaras Hindu University, 1957-58.

(d) Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee, 1958.

NOTES

RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED IN U.K. REPORTS OF ESTIMATES COMMITTEE AND NATIONAL EXPENDITURE COMMITTEE INVOLVING CRITICISM OF POLICIES

Year	Number of the Report	Para No.	Summary of Recommendations	
			(A) Recommendations Criticising Government Policies	

1939-40	4th (NEC)	68-72	Referring to Government's policy of subsidising food prices, the Committee stated that the adoption of the policy had opened a range of problems for enquiry which might otherwise possibly have been considered to be outside their terms of reference and also remarked that some accurate factual records were required in order that the Ministry might be able to review the facts of its operation and consider future policy.
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1940-41	6th (NEC)	20	Referring to the significance of price policy in carrying out the programme of agricultural production, the Committee pointed out that action had not been based on a preconceived and clearly defined plan and had been of a tentative nature. The Committee further stated as follows:
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"Considering our terms of reference, we do not feel entitled to say more than that, if waste is to be directed into the most fruitful channels it is of great importance that a continuous planned price policy should be evolved."

1940-41	24th	10	The Committee recommended reconsideration of the release of minors from the Services. [According to Government's reply, <i>vide</i> p. 48 item (d) of First Report of 1941-42, this recommendation affected Government policy.]
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1955-56	5 h	45	Referring to two major policy decisions taken by Government in regard to certain building operations, the Committee proceeded to remark as follows:
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"It is not the function of your Committee to comment on decisions of policy. Nevertheless your Committee recommend that where such a decision necessarily involves, as this decision did, abandonment of the productive use of money already spent, the department concerned should estimate the probable extent of the loss to the public together with the financial factors making up this loss."

1953-54	3rd	2-5	After pointing out that they were not empowered to comment on the policy which had given rise to certain votes, the Committee recommended that no more public money should be invested in or lent to the British Field Products Ltd.
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Year	Number of the Report	Para No.	Summary of Recommendations	
1955-56	7th	72	Referring to the general policy of the naval research establishment to have as many tools as possible made outside, the Committee stated as follows:	

"Your Committee do not suggest that the policy should be reversed, but they recommend that it should be left entirely to the discretion of the superintendents whether the tools which they require are made in their own tool rooms or not."

(B) Recommendations Touching Upon Government Policies

1955-56	4th	—	Legal Aid Scheme	}	The Committee have not criticised the policy but only suggested a better implementation of the policy.
1956-57	3rd	—	Stores and Ordnance Depots of the Service Departments		
1951-52	6th	65	Referring to the satisfactory advances made in child-care services since the Act of 1948, the Committee suggested a re-examination of the existing policy when they recommended that each Secretary of State should appoint a Committee investigating every aspect of the service for which he was responsible and particularly the financial practice and policy.		
1955-56	1st	27	The Committee recommended that all municipalities should be encouraged to own and operate airports and to this end the Ministry should re-state its policy on the municipal ownership of aerodromes and the conditions upon which agreement should be based.		
1953-54	2nd	21	<i>Abolition of the Road Fund</i> —The Committee suggested that it would lead to greater clarity of the estimates if the Road Funds were abolished and the expenditure on roads provided for in a normal departmental vote and added:		

"They, therefore, recommend that subject to there being no reasons of policy for the continuance of the present system, consideration should be given by the Treasury to the introduction of the necessary legislation."

(C) Recommendations Tending to Affect Policy

1939-40	3rd	30	The Committee recommended the formation of Local Committees consisting of representatives of organisations and associations connected with land and its management, to give advice on the requisitioning of lands for Defence purposes.	
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Summary of Recommendations

Year	Number of the Report	Para No.	
1941-42	8th	9-11	The Committee recommended the setting up of Regional Executive Board consisting of a whole-time paid Chairman and the regional representatives of the Ministry of Labour and the three Supply Departments to perform various functions.
1941-42	8th	24-30 & 39	The Committee also made recommendations on general aspects such as devolution of responsibility to industrial organisations, methods affecting the spirit of the workers employed in industry and the question of taking workers into confidence about matters affecting production.
1941-42	12th		An enquiry into the appointment of two persons from private industry to positions in Government departments, with which their own firms had contractual relations, was made and a report was presented by the Committee, without any change having been made in their terms of reference.
1941-42	16th	109	The Committee remarked that they were not satisfied that the existing arrangements for ministerial control of establishments in the Treasury were adequate and recommended the creation of a new post of Parliamentary Secretary exclusively concerned with civil service questions.
			In their reply in the Seventh Report of 1942-43 (p. 15, item 'q' and p. 16, item 's') the Government simply stated that fundamental changes in the machinery of Government were matters for ministerial decision.
1952-53	13th	12	The Committee recommended the appointment of a Board of Trade Attache to the Foreign Office as a commercial diplomatic representative.
1951-52	4th	26	After criticising the layout of the sales areas of a company financed from public funds, the Committee suggested a re-organisation from the existing system of geographical sales division to a system of production division.
1955-56	7th	6	The Committee recommended an immediate examination to be made of the possibility of merging naval research and development establishment with research and development establishments working in other Government Departments. The Committee, however, added that the final decision on the exact establishments to be merged should rest with the Ministry of Defence.
1956-57	2nd	69 103 }	The Committee suggested that the military aircraft programme should be critically examined against the future background with a view to ensuring that the number of projects is the absolute minimum consistent with security. It also suggested that the question of co-ordination between guided weapons and aircraft should be carefully watched as there was clearly a sharp conflict of interest between the two fields.

THE ARCHIVIST AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

V.K. Bawa

THE State Archives is associated in the minds of most people with musty records and ancient and slow moving staff, and is generally assumed to provide considerable leisure for historical research, completely unrelated to the practical problems of administration. This picture is to some extent justified when the traditional repositories of records in most parts of the world are considered. This is not, however, the picture which a modern archivist visualises when he plans the record office of the future. It is only recently that even the professional archivists in India have become conscious of the wider aspects of their work and of the implications of a wider dissemination of the principles of the modern archives keeping. It is proposed in this article to discuss some of the basic archival principles in so far as they impinge on current problems in the field of Public Administration. It is not proposed to go into the internal problems of an archives repository, such as methods of arrangement, analysis, description, cataloguing, indexing techniques of preservation, publications, etc. Although these problems are the major preoccupation of an archivist they are of less significance to others in the field of Public Administration. It is intended here only to consider the contributions, actual and potential, of the archivist to the solution of problems which face the administration as a whole.

NATURE AND USES OF ARCHIVES

Archives have been defined by Hilary Jenkinson as "(written) documents (or annexures to them) brought into being for the purposes of or used during a business transaction, public or private, of which they themselves form part and subsequently preserved by the persons responsible for that transaction for their successors in their own custody for their own reference".

Archives thus constitute that part of historical material which relate to the activities of the state. Every piece of paper used in any Government transaction, if retained, constitutes a part of archival material. Every administrative paper need not, however, be retained, as not all Governmental records are of value for historical purposes. The historian draws upon not only public archives but also upon private archives, which are the records of business firms, families, religious

institutions, as well as on data derived from archaeological and numismatic research, religious lore, and oral tradition. Archives need not necessarily be in the form of manuscripts or typewritten documents. They consist also of maps, plans, accounts, cheques, photographs; and of late films and sound recordings have also been included in this category.

The value of archives may be briefly stated as follows:

- (1) They provide data for the Government, and specially the administering department, to ascertain the reasons for a particular decision or the background of a particular case.
- (2) Scientific study of archives provides the material for the planning of economic and social policy in every sphere of governmental activity. This function has been most notably performed in India by the late Dr. B.S. Baliga of the Madras Record Office.
- (3) Records form the basis of our juridical system which presupposes the availability of material which throws light on many individual cases. The importance given by the Indian Evidence Act to decisions recorded in the course of business, to the production of the original document from proper custody (a mere copy not being admissible in evidence) and the fact that transactions required to be recorded in the course of official duty need not be proved in court—all these point to the very great importance of keeping documents in proper custody.
- (4) Archives provide a very large proportion of the material of history, particularly in a country like India where private records have either not been maintained, or else have deteriorated due to bad climate and storage condition. The world of history owes a debt of gratitude to the Nizam's Government for having preserved documents relating to the Moghul rule in the Deccan and the early Asafia rulers. The present emphasis in intellectual circles on Economic History has increased the value of papers relating to salaries, accounts etc. which could easily have been destroyed under less imaginative administrations.

The functions of a record office are derived from the above-mentioned aspects of the uses of archives. It is always necessary, however, to keep in mind the possibility of new uses for archives which may develop with the advance of knowledge. The traditional uses of archives may be completely over-shadowed by studies in Anthropology,

Geography, Public Administration, and even natural sciences like Geology.

It is the function of the record office to receive non-current records, to preserve and repair them, to safeguard them from fire, flood, theft and tampering and to make them available to the Government, to research scholars and to individuals who require them to establish a claim of some kind. In some record offices, such as that of the former Hyderabad State and the National Archives of India, the publication of selections from archives has also assumed great importance.

The agencies and individuals who make use of the archives for the purposes mentioned above are mainly as follows:

- (i) The Government, which for the most part means the creating agency, but may also refer to another part of the Government desiring to make use of the records;
- (ii) Research scholars, and others interested in history or family genealogy;
- (iii) Private individuals who wish to establish their claims in cases of disputed property rights, provisions of Sanads, Muntakhabs, pensions and other private claims.

For all these categories of customers, the archivist has to organise his material in an orderly and systematic manner and make it available to them.

THE REDUCTION OF ARCHIVES

With the proliferation of government activity in recent years, the reduction of archives has become a major problem to the administration. This problem is felt to a greater or lesser degree by every department. But its magnitude becomes a matter of major concern to the archivist. While the administrator tends to favour the destruction of many papers which appear to him useless, the archivist has to consider the needs for research by the world of scholarship and also to requirements of the Government itself at a later date.

The traditional methods of reducing archives are by transfer to other repositories such as libraries and museums, by a selective central registry as in Great Britain, by intermediate repositories, and by microphotography and sampling, accompanied by the destruction of the records themselves. A Joint Committee of the United States Congress used to examine the proposals of Departments for the destruction of records. But this was discontinued, and there was no

check until 1912 when President Taft required departments to submit proposals for reduction to Congress through the Congressional Librarian. Under the Act of 1939 and later practice departments are required to submit Disposal Lists for already accumulated records and Disposal Schedules for future disposal, especially of establishment records. The archivist of the United States, in his report for 1948-49, states that Disposal Lists are rapidly giving way to Disposal Schedules. This indicates that the reduction of archives is becoming systematic and has ceased to be the headache it once was to the archivist.

The British practice has been completely changed by the new procedure recommended by the Grigg Committee in 1954, which visualises a first review after five years by the department, and a second review after twenty-five years jointly by the department and the Inspecting Officer from the Public Record Office. It is notable in both the United States and the United Kingdom practice that uniformity of office procedure is not prescribed; each department is allowed considerable independence of action in regard to the closure of files, registration system, etc. The Madras type of disposal system, providing for the automatic destruction of a file after a prescribed period, has been considered but not enforced in the United Kingdom. It is left to the department to apply it or not.

The procedure in the Government of India is for files to be classified, at the time of recording, into Class A meaning "keep and print", Class B meaning "keep but do not print", and Class C meaning "destroy after prescribed number of years, 3, 5 or 10". Files of an ephemeral nature are destroyed when they are one year old and are not recorded.

The classification of files in the Madras Government followed the pattern laid down by Tottenham in the District Office Manual, namely classification into N. Dis., L. Dis., D. Dis., R. Dis., according as the files were returned, retained for one year, 10 years or permanently. The Hyderabad Government, in The Destruction of Useless Records Act of 1305 Fasli, authorised the various Government departments to draw up rules for the destruction of their own records.

It is noteworthy that none of the five systems described above have any systematic procedure for the reduction of archives from the historical point of view. The Central Secretariat Manual of Office Procedure expresses a pious hope that files relating to "any aspect of history, whether Political, Military, Social, Economic etc." or matters of "biographical or antiquarian interest" will not be destroyed. This is not at all satisfactory, as a non-expert cannot judge the historical value of a file without some rules to guide him. Even under the new

procedure in Great Britain the first review after five years is done by the department, and the Public Record Office is consulted only during the second review after 25 years, by which time many important records might have been destroyed. The American system of Disposal Lists for old records, and Disposal Schedules for future destruction appears to be the most satisfactory as it provides the archivist with an opportunity of scrutinising the proposals for destruction at a very early stage.

The picture which emerges is therefore that of the archivist, as a consultant on the disposition of records who, by virtue of his knowledge and experience of the needs of Government departments and research scholars, is in a position to evaluate the records proposed for destruction, without taking either a too sentimental or a too bureaucratic view with regard to their preservation. It should be pointed out here that archivists have discovered that the best way of reducing the volume of records is not by systematically weeding them, but by so simplifying the method of work that the quantity of records produced will be comparatively small. This will be considered in the subsequent section on record management.

INTEGRITY OF ARCHIVES

The true significance of a document can be appreciated only when it is studied in relation to the transaction of which it formed a part. The arrangement of archives must therefore be designed to illustrate that relationship, and for no other purpose. This principle of arrangement has now been accepted by archival authorities all over the world. A document forms a part of the series in which it originated and the removal of a document from that series immediately lessens and sometimes obliterates its evidential value, both in a legal and a historical sense. Some authorities refuse to accept a paper once separated from its series, even if it is offered to be returned to the archival repository where it belongs. This is because the document has been open to alteration and its genuineness must necessarily be in doubt due to its absence from proper custody.

The question of integrity of archives has two aspects. One is the method of arrangement to be followed in an archival repository and the second is the question of division of records in case of the partition, disruption or discontinuance of an existing juridical and administrative authority.

(i) *Principles of Arrangement*

A nation-wide public archives administration was established for the first time by France after the Revolution and records of the pre- and

post-revolutionary periods were separately grouped. On April 24, 1841, a circular was issued by the Minister of the Interior laying down the principle of *respect des fonds*, according to which all records originating with "our administrative authority, a corporation or a family" are to be brought together into a "fonds" within which the records are to be arranged by subject-matter and thereunder either chronologically, geographically, or alphabetically". This principle was not consistently followed in France but it represented the first step in scientific archives principles. The Prussian archives accepted the principle and it was embodied in the circular of the Director of the State Archives, the historian Von Sybel, issued on July 1, 1881. This circular laid down first the *provenienzprinzip*, or principle of provenance, and secondly the *Registraturprinzip*. The first principle laid down that the arrangement of records was to be according to the provenance of the constituent parts. The second principle laid down that papers within a series were to be maintained in the order in which they are registered by the Ministry or agency concerned. This was based on the assumption that the registry office of the Ministry arranged its papers in a logical and systematic fashion. The same principle was accepted by the Dutch archivists Muller, Fruith, and Fruin, who gave it a theoretical justification in their manual published in 1898. They emphasised the necessity of the archivist restoring the "original order" of the records in a registry, and compared it to the work of a paleontologist who joins together the skeleton of a pre-historic animal although many of its bones have been misplaced and some are missing altogether. The skeleton of an archival body they regarded as the main series containing the proceedings of the administrative body concerned.

The English archivist Hilary Jenkinson criticised this methodology by pointing out its inapplicability to what he described as an "invertebrate" archive group, that is one having no main series. Such a group are the treaty series of the Government of India and the Firman series of the Nizam's Government, collections of documents which bear no intimate relation to each other but have been filed together because of similarity in form or for some other reasons. The problem in English archives was different to that on the Continent, because the registry contained not files but rolls containing entries on inward and onward documents. Jenkinson therefore suggested an analysis to determine the functions of the administration which produced an archive group.

The term "archive group" in England and "fonds" in France correspond to the American term "record group". The archive groups of Britain are, however, accumulations of records of "an administration which was an organic whole, complete in itself, capable of dealing independently, without any added or external authority,

with every side of any business which could normally be presented to it." The American "record group" consists of records of several units of varying status and authority in the Government hierarchy, which may or may not be subordinate to a single authority. The French "fonds" is a collective record group, as it comprises the records of a number of agencies having common characteristics.

The problems facing an archivist in regard to arrangement of records are: (i) the determination of the unit, such as record group, archive group or fonds, (ii) the determination of the principle of allocation of records, (iii) the arrangement of record groups, (iv) the arrangement of elements within the record group, and (v) the arrangement of single documents. These problems have to be faced in the work of every record office. In the carrying out of this task the rich experience of the European and American archivists will be of immense help to the archivist in India.

(ii) *Division of Records*

The chequered history of Europe during the last four or five hundred years has given ample opportunity for the development of a theory and practice relating to the division of records. Provisions regarding the transfer of records began to be entered in the treaties at the end of the Middle Ages. According to the so-called principle of pertinence established in the late eighteenth century, the successor states divided the records of Poland after the third partition of that country. The looting of archives from all over Europe by Napoleon made the public conscious of the value of records as a source of national sentiment. The treaty of Vienna in 1866 established in international practice the principle of *respect des fonds*. Italy and Austria retained the archives of the territory ruled by them. They promised to allow copies to be taken in the interests of scholarship but not to move the records from their proper repository. The principle was confirmed by the Treaty of Frankfurt between France and Germany in 1871, and formed the basis of Poland's claims for the extradition of records looted from her since 1772, confirmed by the Treaty of Versailles. The principle unfortunately received a setback with the division of the archives of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but this was for political reasons.

The principle has equal applicability in the national as in the international sphere. It received a great impetus when the records in the National Archives of India were not divided on the partition of India in 1947, but copies were made available of records required by the other Government. Although it was ignored during the separation

of Orissa from Madras in 1936, it was more or less scrupulously observed during the reorganisation of States in 1956. The decision to keep the archives as a unit was based upon a resolution of the Indian Historical Records Commission urging the necessity to preserve the integrity of the archival collection.

PERSONNEL

If it is conceded that the archivist has a vital role to perform in the healthy functioning of the administration as a whole, then the problem of the selection and training of an archivist ceases to be a narrow problem of a specialised field and becomes a matter of interest to all departments.

As to what should be the background and qualifications of an archivist there is no agreement among countries advanced in archival science. The traditional 19th century practice was to choose a historian as an archivist, to enable him to work on the archives for purposes of historical research. Recent opinion has however veered in favour of the view that a historian tends to take a too narrow view of his functions and to specialize in some branch of historical research at the cost of his duties to the repository as a whole. Jenkinson holds the view that the primary duty of an archivist is to preserve the records, and this he discusses under the two heads of the "physical" and "moral" defence of archives. The preparation of guides to records generally is thus relegated to a second place in his scale of duties.

While in the United Kingdom recruitment to the Public Record Office is from universities which favour the classics, the German practice is to require a Ph.D. degree in history as a prerequisite for archival training. The trend in America is towards a shifting emphasis from history to the social sciences. There was till recently also a less desirable increase in the emphasis on Library classification system, such as the Dewey decimal system, which classify records according to subject-matter instead of according to the office of origin. There are post-graduate courses in Archives Administration organised by American Universities in conjunction with nearby record offices. The main consideration in the training of archivists should be a sound academic background and a grasp of the social sciences, particularly Public Administration. Persons with narrow academic interests are likely to do more harm than good. It is desirable, therefore, to recruit junior lecturers and civil servants with scholarly interests and broad outlook on life and give them thorough training for about six months. Recruitment or appointment should be made on an all-India basis and not only from persons domiciled in the state concerned.

RECORD MANAGEMENT

A recent article by Arthur Naftalin in this *Journal* (Vol. IV, No. 4, October-December, 1958) pointed out that specialisation in the field of management research and analysis has developed in America to the point where a large organisation is expected to employ not only experts in Organization and Methods, but experts in the application of machine methods, work measurement, forms control, record management etc. It is doubtful whether such specialisation is necessary or desirable in a comparatively less advanced system such as ours. It would appear necessary, however, to give some weight in the planning of administrative reforms to the opinion of certain departments, such as the record office, which by the very nature of their work have to deal with all departments and are, therefore, in a position to provide competent advice on points of administrative reform.

When the National Archives Establishment was transferred to the General Services Administration of the United States by an Act of Congress* in 1949, the administrator was authorised—

- (i) to make surveys of Government records and records management and disposal practices and obtain reports thereon from Federal agencies;
- (ii) to promote in co-operation with the executive agencies, improved records management practices and controls in such agencies, including the central storage or disposition of records not needed by such agencies for their current use;
- (iii) to report to the Congress and the Bureau of the Budget from time to time the results of such activities.

Considerations, which specially qualify the archivist to be consulted in matters of administrative policy, and which are based upon the principles of archival science which have been discussed in the preceding sections, are:

(1) The classification and arrangement of records, as discussed in the section on 'Integrity of Archives' is based upon the organisation of the department where the records are created. To provide for a smooth transfer of records from the creating agency to the record office, there is need for advance planning and co-ordination between the two departments. The record officer of each department should be trained in the State Archives and be able to visualise the needs of the permanent repository of the records created by the department. In some countries

*Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, quoted in Appendix I of Fifteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1948-49, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1950.

the record officer is even under the control of the archives, but in a homogeneous administration such as ours this may not be necessary.

(2) The archivist is vitally concerned with the reduction of records as has been discussed in the section on 'The Reduction of Archives'. He is therefore naturally anxious to simplify administrative procedure and cut down red tape. At the same time he is anxious to see that every important decision is properly recorded, for the sake of posterity. He will not therefore encourage slipshod methods in office procedures.

(3) The archivist, due to his familiarity with the records of many agencies, can be assumed to have a fund of information on administrative history, the merits and dangers of particular administrative reforms and on the precedents and background of administrative policies proposed in the future. He would therefore be of great assistance to the Organisation and Methods division of the Government as well as to all officials concerned with the planning of administrative policy.

The archivist enjoys a peculiar position in the modern set-up. His traditional lines of contact with museums, libraries and the world of scholarship have to be retained. At the same time, if he wants to do his job well, he must not take a too narrow view of his functions. The whole field of Public Administration falls within his purview in as much as he has to deal with all departments of government and to know the subject-matter of their records. The record office is a service agency which serves all departments of government like the Stationery Department, the Supply Department, the Buildings Division of the Public Works Department, the Printing Press etc. It would be interesting to examine whether all these service agencies could not be brought together under a General Service Administration as has been done in United States with considerable success. In any event, the peculiar role of these agencies should be recognised and given its due importance in the planning of administrative reforms.

"Management can rarely achieve its aims by command alone. Men do not spring into action when buttons are pressed and orders go down the line. Authority is not automatically enforced. The task of management, both public and private, is to provide the kind of leadership that produces spontaneous and cooperative effort rather than to impose authoritative decisions."

—MARVER H. BERNSTEIN
(in "*The Job of the Federal Executive*")

EXECUTIVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

A. Dasgupta

EXECUTIVE Development programmes in U.S.A. are organised by universities, professional societies and companies.* About 500,000 middle and top executives receive formal education in management every year. Professional societies account for 40 per cent of the candidates, the rest being divided equally between universities and companies.

It is only during the last decade that the university has assumed its role in such teaching. Harvard and M.I.T. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) however, have programmes that date back farther than that. In 1931 the M.I.T. introduced the first Executive Development programme to make engineers useful in policy making areas and to assume the leadership of important aspects and functions of the business in which they were employed. This programme is still in operation and is known as "Rhodes Scholarship of America". The Harvard programme commenced in 1942 followed by the Wharton School Finance and Commerce (Philadelphia) and the University of Pittsburg in 1949. Thus till 1949 there were only four universities in U.S.A. which were concerned with Executive Development programmes. Today at least 30 of the foremost American universities are running some form or another of Executive Development programmes. The university courses vary in length from two to fourteen weeks, with a total capacity at one time of some 2,000 students.

Of the professional societies, the American Management Association occupies the first place in regard to management training programmes. It conducts a diversified programme of activities designed to help the busy executive in every conceivable area and at every step in his development. The Association has ten operating divisions which correspond to major areas of management : Finance, General Management, Packaging, Personnel and Research and Development. Each division has developed a full programme of conferences, seminars, and courses to bring executives together for exchange of experience and management know-how, for knowledge of fundamentals and for information on current developments in their respective fields. A

*For details, please refer to "1958 Guide to Intensive Courses and Seminars for Executives" compiled by American Management Association, New York.

conference lasts usually 4 to 5 days and is attended by a large number of executives for discussion on a variety of topics. Two conferences are organised a year by each division where authoritative speakers and panel discussions are presented. Seminars are arranged to last from a few days to a few weeks for a limited number of executives for intensive discussions on a single topic. The A.M.A. holds more than 800 seminars annually. A course of the A.M.A. is an integrated but broad educational programme of more than two weeks' duration where a co-ordinated staff is utilized for instruction.

Executive Development courses in universities are different from part-time evening management courses, which many universities are now offering to persons who are engaged during day time. An Executive Development programme requires that the executive should lay aside his day-to-day responsibilities in the company and go back to college to become a twenty-four-hour-a-day student for two to thirty weeks. There are about 32 different "on campus" courses in operation in the different recognised universities. The duration of each of these courses is less than a year and is not open to regular students. About 15 of these are offered on an annual basis, while the rest have 2 or 3 sessions a year. Course variations provide opportunities to a company to fit in the needs of a specific executive. All the same, there are certain functions which are common to all executives. An executive has to analyse problems, lead men and influence his community.¹ Also, his status is becoming more and more that of a co-ordinator of diverse interests in the modern industrial firm. Though the objectives of the university programmes are stated differently, each tries to teach the executive to broaden his outlook, improve his thought process and his analytical abilities, so that he can perform his functions in the interest of his organisation, employees, customers and community.

Here, for example, are three typical programme objectives :

1. (i) Developing each participant so as to make him a better man in his immediate job;
- (ii) Assisting the participating companies in the development of individuals capable of assuming positions of wider responsibility in top management (Harvard: Advanced Management Programme).
2. To provide participants with a broader framework, in which an understanding of the major corporate forces—economic,

1. National Industrial Conference Board, *Studies in Personnel Policy*, No. 160, New York : 1957, p. 5.

human, technical and institutional—can be used to solve basic business problems (M.I.T.: Programme for Senior Executives).

3. (a) To develop the ability of the participant to think and act in the interest of his company's operation as a whole;
- (b) To broaden the vision of the participant beyond the departmental areas in which he is working and interest him in all the aspects of management that are essential to successful business operation;
- (c) To emphasise the importance of human relations in organisation; and
- (d) To develop an understanding of the influence of the broad social, economic and political factors within which business must operate today (Pittsburg University: Management Problems for Executives).

Some hoped for by-products of the programme are for each participant to:

- "1. develop awareness of 'area of ignorance';
2. grasp relationships between fragmentary blocks of knowledge;
3. see that scope and viewpoint determine the relevance of facts;
4. recognise that 'possibilities' emerge from 'difficulties';
5. develop the techniques of formulating questions that lead to alternatives;
6. distinguish consciously between facts, opinions and assumptions;
7. detect the dangers of assuming understanding;
8. discover respect for other's thinking;
9. find hidden strengths of knowledge and insight in oneself;
10. acquire a hunger for continuing knowledge and self-development."²

At this point, we may mention the reasons for the need of such programmes in the American economy. Because of the increasing competition, many companies are in need of good managers in vital positions. Technical men and specialists who are being called upon to perform managerial jobs find difficulty in functioning as generalists. The American Management Association estimates that in all industries of U.S.A., about 27 per cent of the top executives are the engineering

2. North-Western University, *Institute of Management*, Chicago : 1959, p. 7.

graduates. Then again, no organisation can expect the best of performance from its workers unless there is an atmosphere of co-operation and team spirit. The managers need to have leadership qualities to invoke such atmosphere.

With regard to the age of the participants, a university feels that the greater the length of industrial experience, the greater the ability of the participant to benefit from the programme. All the same, it has been found difficult to judge individual differences in the flexibility of outlook. Today, in most cases, the average age tends to be in the early forties with the range between 35 and 55. And the salaries range between \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year.

The universities require that the applications should come from the members of middle and top management, who hold responsible positions either in the staff or line organisation. Persons who have been recently promoted or are about to be promoted to responsible positions are also considered for admission. Women are not accepted in most of the programmes. There are no formal educational requirements for admission.

The participants must be sponsored by their companies, and be released from regular business responsibilities. Small companies, therefore, find it difficult to spare their men for the training period. Consequently, in most of the programmes, the participants are from large companies. All participants study, work and sleep in the same campus. The size of a group in a programme varies from 16 (as in M.I.T.) to 160 (as in the Harvard).

In most of the university programmes the teaching is in the hands of the full-time members of the staff. Guest speakers are occasionally brought in to make available to the class members the best thinking and the most up-to-date information on a subject.

Fees for instruction and books differ from institution to institution. The charges of the M.I.T. are \$2,500 for 10 weeks; of Harvard \$2,400 for 3 months and of Pittsburg \$1,400 for 8 weeks. The employers normally pay the programme fees.³ The M.I.T. gives each Sloan Fellow financial aid to cover some portion of his costs.

II

How could universities enlist the support of the industry with regard to their programmes?

3. Allison, V. MacCullough, a well-known American Management Consultant, has made a continuing survey of the university's part in the programme, estimates that 1,000 American companies are spending more than two million a year to send their more promising executives to university training programmes.

The status and prestige of persons who are in business are second to none in the United States. Till recently, only a small proportion of university graduates were attracted to government employment, and the majority went in for jobs in industry. Naturally, therefore, the universities have been always eager to provide for business education. It is quite common in U.S.A. for industry to keep contact with a university. Not only are scholarships and financial aids liberally donated to universities, but business projects which require research and investigations are given to universities to work out results for which the industry bears the entire or major cost with no strings or conditions attached. In fact, the American industry is a great supporter of research. The American industry also makes extensive use of university teachers as consultants. Conversely, experienced executives who have the inclination and ability to teach make real contribution to the university classes.⁴ The other contributions of the Business to universities are communication of documents, assistance given to case analysts, placement of graduates etc. At the same time, it must be emphasised that no university has surrendered its academic freedom to the business community.

The Executive Development programmes in universities are therefore viewed with high hopes by the companies which sincerely believe that their executives can get stimulation, courage and imagination for action from their contacts with university programmes. Moreover, the participants go back with a feeling of consummation and exalt the programmes before their respective companies "to repeat order".

The universities admit that they can never substitute on-the-job-training which an executive gets from his daily functions. The companies too, know that there is no substitute for a university course which, invariably, offers a broadening influence. Ordinarily, a participant in a university programme goes through certain steps: First, an instruction in the fundamentals and the latest developments in the curriculum subject-matter, which tends to improve him in his executive position; secondly, acquaintance with the latest developments in the all important area of human relationships; and thirdly, acquaintance with the liberal aspects of the social, political and economic forces related to the business world. Each executive is exposed to lengthy discussions for exchange of ideas with other participants and teachers

4. "Without it, the schools might lose their practical approach in the sea of unrefined theory, while businessmen would fail to avail themselves of a fine source of broad executive training and stimulation." (*Vide : Business Looks at Business Education : A study sponsored by School of Business Administration, University of North Carolina, 1958, p. 17.*)

during the training period. There is little doubt that a measure of useful knowledge is garnered as a result of such contacts.

There is no emphasis on specialisation as such in a university programme. The subjects comprising the curriculum cover the major areas of management and are developed primarily from a policy viewpoint rather than from a technical angle. The subjects can be grouped under four heads:

1. Planning and Policy
 - (a) Business Policy
 - (b) Administrative Practices
 - (c) Organisation and Control
2. Business functions
 - (a) Marketing Administration
 - (b) Cost and Financial Administration
 - (c) Statistical Control
 - (d) Managerial Accountancy
3. Human Relations
 - (a) Problems in Labour Relations
 - (b) Communications
 - (c) Personnel Development
4. Public Relations
 - (a) Business and Government Relations
 - (b) Business and American Society

Though teaching methods should be related to the subjects to be taught, there are two different approaches in this regard—the compartmentalised method and the clinical method. In the compartmentalised method, each subject receives separate treatment for giving specific knowledge to the participants. Lectures by faculty staff and outside specialists receive major emphasis. Since the fundamental skill that is required in business is the ability to apply what has been learnt, the “clinical approach” is made in regard to teaching so that the trainees can be active in the educational process. Conferences and discussions take the place of lectures. The case method of teaching is a clinical approach. During the last twenty-five years, a large number of lawyers were trained by case method, and its success in this sphere led to its use in the education of managerial trainees in business and industry.

The case method is the teaching-learning process used in the Advanced Management Programme at Harvard which believes in

the effectiveness of "learning by doing".⁵ Cases are supplemented by the experience of the men themselves and of the faculty members who always make themselves available for discussion outside the classroom. The Harvard cases are drawn from the actual business situations. A case is discussed by several study units which are similar to syndicates at Henley. There are some faculty members who feel that uses of cases cannot be very purposive where the primary emphasis is on the development of sharp analytical concepts, and suggest that other methods like lectures, role-playing should not be discouraged. Unless a case is carefully prepared, it cannot be a teaching vehicle.⁶

At Pittsburg, for the first week or ten days, lectures, textbooks and mimeographed assignments, and discussions are provided to develop basic principles in different subjects. This furnishes class members with a sufficient background to understand case studies. During each session, a business game is played by all the class members which involves the use of an electronic computer as an aid in the making of management decisions. Several inspection trips to plants are included in each session of the course. The main advantage of such visits is the opportunity for each group to gain experience for subsequent group discussions.

At the M.I.T., the seminar method of careful reading preparation and full discussion is typically followed. Cases are only used where they are useful.

The case methods that are followed in the different universities are of three types. The first type involves the presentation of a case problem that fits the subject-matter under discussion. Usually it describes a human relation or a technical problem. It is only 2 or 3 paragraphs in length and does not include much background information, and consequently the depth and breadth essential to a rigorous, systematic analysis are limited. There is usually a single correct answer on which most members of the class can agree. Such limited objective cases are very effective as a training medium for beginners in management courses.

The second one is known as Incident Process and is followed only at the M.I.T. for analysing cases. A case is presented in three or four sentences to the participants who ask for additional information from the teacher in order to have a full-length case report. Proposals for solutions are discussed, and a final conclusion reached, even by

5. "the case method stands as the signal contribution of the Harvard Business School to education in the profession of business administration." (Vide: Mc Nair, M. *The Case Method at the Harvard Business School*, New York : McGraw-Hill, 1954, p. viii).

6. Interview by the author, April, 1959.

actual vote. It is a new technique for analysing cases. Dr. Paul Pigors, the propounder of this method thinks that while thinking and analysis are important in the solution of a problem, much emphasis should be placed on the solution itself.⁷ The advantages of the method are that it requires no pre-class preparation on the part of the participants; its collection is not expensive on the part of a university; and it encourages ready participation from the students.

At Harvard, a case problem is quite lengthy and consists of several thousand words. All important facts and information, which a student may like to know, are supplied in a case. At the same time, the Harvard method is not keen on all facts of a case, because in actual life, decisions are often taken without all facts. The important point is to discover the need for a specific fact. A good deal of pre-class preparation is required, for which the classes are adjourned in the afternoon whenever there is a discussion on the next day. A case-study may not be very effective for conveying factual information, but it does develop flexibility and adaptability in thinking for orderly problem solving and brings home to the student the fundamental truth that "management is concerned with people and their changeable, irrational, emotional and unpredictable behaviour."

Another approach of teaching, in particular for human relations, is the "laboratory" approach when a "leader" takes the charge of a study group for direct observation and analysis of the processes of human relations. "Under the guidance of the trainer, the group examines its own behaviour to discover what happened, why it happened in that way, and what could have been done to facilitate the work

7. "Our analytical method is made up of the following phases:

(1) At the beginning of each session, the whole discussion group starts from scratch on a new case, by briefly studying an incident which the leader gives out.

(2) Then, in what amounts to a group interview of the Team Leader, discussion members "get the facts". (In this and succeeding phases, we take the role of some insider; trying to see and to appreciate the facts, as though we were actually involved in their consequences).

(3) Next we determine: What needs to be decided? After making up our minds about that, we—

(4) Are ready to decide what should be done about it. First we commit ourselves, individually, in writing. Then (after finding out how the group as a whole subdivides), we get together in subgroups of like-minded members. In this way we consolidate our reasoning, and elect spokesmen. Each of these representatives outlines the position of his "constituents". But instead of fighting it out along these lines, we test the strength of these positions by getting more facts. The Team Leader now tells us what actually was decided, in the case situation, and (if he knows) how this decision worked out.

(5) Finally, we extend the phase of decision. We think back over the whole case (to evaluate behaviour), we connect it with other situations (to find common denominators) and we think ahead about preventive measures that might be useful in that kind of situation, and that we ourselves might apply in future).

(*Vide*: Pigors, Paul and Faith. *Case Method on the Spot-incident Process—learning by doing*. (Reprint from *Adult Leadership*, January, 1955).

of the group. From such a start, the group embarks upon a self-determined series of activities designed to develop an understanding of group processes, to develop skills in handling human relations problems, and finally to work out ways of applying the results in the normal work setting."⁸

III

The success of the Executive Development programmes in universities is due to the fact that the organisation and planning of the curriculum has always followed the course objectives. Moreover, the teaching members do not hesitate to mix with the participants for sharing knowledge and experience. The exchange of ideas with the participants is an exciting and rewarding experience for the teachers, many of whom have published papers on the basis of such discussion.⁹ In fact, this rapport is one of the finest traits of American universities, and has given warm faith and confidence in the programmes on the part of the students. The integration of the course is possible because of the full co-operation among the members of the teaching staff in presenting the subject-matter in a collective team manner.

As regards the set-up of management departments of American universities, generally the measure of their autonomy precludes as close a collaboration with related technical disciplines like Sociology, Economics, Law, Psychology, Statistics and Mathematics as is imperative in the interest of management science. There is greater need for integrating the related disciplines to interpret management problems.

As stated earlier, the programmes do not have many participants from small business. It is in this section of business where the rate of failure every year is on the increase because of poor management, or inadequate capital or inferior quality of products and services.

Business failures in the United States, 1948-1956¹⁰

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of failures</i>
1948	5,252
1950	9,162
1954	11,086
1956	12,704

"The life of the average business, specially small business, is quite short. Nearly 60 per cent of the concerns that failed in 1954 had been in business less than five years."¹¹

8. Seashore, S.E. *The Training of Leaders for Effective Human Relations*, UNESCO, 1957.

9. Interview by the author, April, 1959.

10. U.S. Department of Commerce. *Survey of Current Business, 1949-1957*.

11. Keith, L.A. and Gubellini, C.E. *Business Management*, New York; McGraw-Hill, 1958, p. 18.

The rate of business failures even in the case of small business can be reduced if the executives are made more effective in their tasks as organisers. Since such executives cannot join full-time Executive Development programmes, many of them do take advantage of the evening courses in management which have of late, become quite popular all over the country.

It is very difficult to test the attitude of co-operating companies toward Executive Development programmes. The obvious test is whether the same company sends fresh participant from year to year. The enrolment trend is not steady except in the case of a few well-known universities. The University of Portland had dropped its programme altogether. The course at the Case Institute of Technology was suspended for a time and is now being reviewed. The University of Richmond is recovering from a major drop in enrolment. The M.I.T. programme like a few others of the different universities has had a growing enrolment. There is hardly a company which, after having an executive in the M.I.T. programme, does not wish to repeat the experience with others of its staff.^{1 2}

Though companies encourage their executives to repeat the experience, in many cases the executives are sent to the wrong programmes from which they derive no real value.^{1 3} The universities are not to be blamed for this wrong selection of programmes. There is need for joint responsibility by the university and the company in selecting and assigning the executives in order to minimise economic and human waste. A company must realise that no two programmes are alike: they differ in objectives, in contents, in subject-matter and in the learning process. It has been observed that in most cases, the executives who select candidates also decide the courses. The selection of the course is rarely done by the candidate himself.

Another setback to the effectiveness of persons trained in Executive Development programmes is the rather unreasonable expectation that they can work miracles immediately after the completion of their courses. Executives, too often, riddle them with test problems without giving them ample time to relax and examine the feasibility of applying their newly acquired skill to the conditions under which they have to work. It has been found that given sufficient time they can properly adjust their ideas to the environment and handle problems successfully.

12. Schell, Erwin H. and Bradshaw, F.T. *A Dialogue of Executive Development*. (Advanced Management Reprint, March 1957, p. 6).

13. Allison V. MacCullough reports that 15 to 25 per cent of the executives are in the wrong programmes. Some of the directors go so far as to say that only 40 to 60 per cent of participants "derived any real value" from the programmes.

The senior executives should not hesitate to provide adequate opportunities to such trained persons at different stages of operations.

Executive Development programmes are concerned with executives who differ as to the nature of the functions they perform, the kind of industry in which they operate, the degree of authority they possess and the size of firms where they operate. Quite a few companies think that it is not possible for a university to take all these aspects into consideration and arrive at any business philosophy of general application. There are complaints that some universities immodestly over-estimate their objectives. Sweeping announcements like "developing executives for responsible leadership", "developing participants as future top-managers", "developing appreciation of his responsibilities in community, state and national affairs" and so on will do more harm than good because what a company expects of a university is that it should impart an understanding of the problems involved and stimulation of the natural qualities of imagination. Some also feel that too much emphasis on social responsibilities in the programmes of universities has blurred the real goal of business. Unless an executive helps his organisation to run it profitably, can there be service to the employees, customers and investors? There are some faculty members who endorse such views though on different grounds. "... if we go beyond this with excessive talk and emphasis upon 'social responsibility' of business and the acceptance of 'service' as an ideal, we will be denying the basic principles of individualism and of free enterprise. We will instead be playing into the hands of those who would prefer a controlled economy, a Welfare State and a reversion to status."¹⁴ They however suggest that teachers should give their students "an appreciation of the social role of business and an understanding of the subtle paradoxes that reconcile the individualistic profit motive with human welfare." We may mention here that there has grown an explicit interest in the public good as an important goal of business behaviour in contrast to simple emphasis on profit.¹⁵ This has not in any way damaged the traditional values of the freedom of managers to manage and of the opportunity for workers to achieve their rights.

A few companies hold the view that the faculty members should have some experience of industry to appreciate the nervous and emotional strains which the executives normally go through in performing their functions.

14. Griffin, C.E. "Reflections on the Schools of Business", *Michigan Business Review*, May, 1955, p. 8.

15. Bach, G.L. *Some Observations on the Business Schools of Tomorrow*, Graduate School of Industrial Administration, Reprint No. 19, Pittsburg: Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1958.

It is generally agreed that a university has a social obligation to the training of business leaders, which must not be left to chance to emerge from purer pursuits of humanities. Whether the teacher should have industrial experience or not, he can still be effective if he employs the basic principles in digging into the essential nature of the problems and attempts to conceive new principles therefrom. A teacher need not exalt "the practical" at the cost of theory. He normally concentrates on developing true understanding, courage and perspicacity in the participants so that they can have foresight out of understanding, and an urge for action out of courage and perspicacity. Business dynamism demands these qualities in its executives.

The *sine qua non* for managerial, employee and public relations are human relations. Skill in human relations has come to be regarded as one of the critical requirements for effective leadership at all levels of an organisation and in all kinds of organisation. In most cases, these are the central areas of the executive functions, and not science, engineering or technology.¹⁶ The need for understanding in the field of human relations is of prime importance to an executive without which he cannot feel confidence in his own decision and becomes hesitant, and panicky.

A university cannot train a person in the complex technologies and intricate techniques with which a manager must be confronted later on. His logical acuteness and analytical ability to understand these complexities and their relationships, can, however, be developed by university programmes along with the enlargement of his practical viewpoints and personal philosophy for business life and its decision. These are no mean achievements.



16. Barnard, Chester, *Organisation and Management*, Harvard University Press, 1949, p. 208.

A NEW PERSPECTIVE FOR O & M

A. Avasthi

THE central O & M Division, which was established in March 1954, has completed five years of its existence.¹ During these five years O & M has gradually spread to States. Andhra Pradesh, Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh have set up O & M units.² The Special Re-organisation Unit (Economy Division) of the Department of Expenditure, Union Ministry of Finance has, since its re-organisation in 1956, successfully applied the use of Work Study techniques to assess work loads and to determine staff complements on scientific basis in selected Government organisations.³ Some useful work in the field has also been done by the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission created in August 1952 (in regard to evaluation aspect only) and by the Committee on Plan Projects set up by the National Development Council in 1956 to undertake, among others, "studies with the object of evolving suitable forms of organisation, methods, standards and techniques for achieving economy, avoiding waste and ensuring efficient execution of projects."

It is generally accepted that the central O & M Division has been successful in creating an O & M consciousness throughout the Government of India, in improving the speed of disposal through the mechanism of control charts, special case studies and personal attention, in standardising and simplifying office procedures, etc. There is, nonetheless, manifest a growing dissatisfaction in many quarters with the existing form and role of O & M in the Central Government. Some feel that O & M has outlived its purpose; and that it is

1. The aims and objects of O & M in Central Government were outlined by S.B. Bapat in an article in the *I.J.P.A.*, Vol. I, No. 1, for January-March, 1955. The origin of O & M in India can be traced to the period soon after the second world war when an O & M unit was set up in West Bengal Secretariat by R.G. Cassey, the then Governor. The establishment of a Central O & M Division was first recommended by the Officer Shortage Committee in 1947; when N. Gopalswami Ayyangar made similar recommendation in his *Report on the Re-organisation of Machinery of Government* in 1949; this recommendation was supported by the Planning Commission in 1952 in the First Five Year Plan and by Dean Paul Appleby in his first report in 1953.

2. Recent trends in the States are in the direction of re-organisation of the district collectorates, integration of the administrative organisations for local government and development, and more effective co-ordination among the technical personnel of the field offices of the various departments of the State. Several States have also instituted inquiries into their administrative organisation and procedures.

3. For a detailed description of the activities of the S.R.U., see Indarjit Singh and K.N. Butani, "Work Study in Government Organisations", *I.J.P.A.*, Vol. IV, No. 2, April-June, 1958.

wasteful of time and energy rather than an instrument of improving efficiency. For many others the real O & M work has been undertaken by the Special Re-organisation Unit. The Estimates Committee of Second Lok Sabha has in its recent 55th Report, recommended "a thorough review of functions and the organisations of both S.R.U. and O & M Division and the O & M cells in the various Ministries". The Committee has also recommended their amalgamation.⁴

Some of the current criticism of O & M seems to be ill-informed; other indictments do not take into account the true nature and functions of O & M in India and the well known but commonly forgotten truth that it is never possible to conceive and erect at one stretch an ideal administrative agency with a perfect programme of action in any field of governmental activity. Administrative organisations, charged with new programmes, have to begin their career on a limited scale and develop and extend their activities as they grow up to maturity. Some of the present confusion and blurring of responsibilities arise partly from the lack of clarity about the basic concepts and techniques, such as "O & M", 'Work Study', etc.

O & M OR WORK STUDY ?

In the U.S.A., Work Study is used in a narrow sense to indicate a technique or tool of O & M; and the concept of O & M (Organisation and Management, as the Americans call it) is much wider and more comprehensive. On the other hand, in Great Britain, the reverse is the case. The term O & M is used in the restricted sense of organisation and methods, and Work Study is said to claim equal status with O & M as a technique.

Work Study has been defined as comprising all "systematic activities concerned with the investigation, recording, measurement and improvement of work".⁵ The term is used to indicate two distinct yet completely interdependent techniques namely 'Method Study' and 'Work Measurement'. 'Method Study' aims at improving methods of work, resulting in more effective use of staff, equipment, stationery, space, etc. 'Work Measurement' is concerned with the 'work content' of the task itself. It assesses human effectiveness. Thus, the chief objective of Work Study generally is to study the work load of employees, to set up a 'norm' or 'standards' and to assess requirements of personnel. The purpose, mainly, is to cut down the surplus personnel and effect economy.

4. Estimates Committee, 1958-59 (Second Lok Sabha), *55th Report, Ministry of Finance (Department of Expenditure)*, New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1959, p. 16.

5. Quoted in H.P. Cemach, *Work Study in the Office*, London, Current Affairs, Ltd., 1958, p. 20.

O & M, on the other hand, is a more comprehensive concept than Work Study. Even when used in the restricted British sense, it describes the study of the organisation of public bodies and of the office procedures they adopt with a view to improving both. The term, thus, includes two elements—Organisation and Methods. So far as organisational reviews are concerned, these fall solely within the sphere of the O & M unit. As regards Methods, the O & M units are expected to carry out reviews of procedures and systems. In conducting such surveys they adopt the well known techniques of work simplification and work measurement. This implies a clear affinity with the programmes of Work Study. Work Study, thus, becomes one of the techniques used in O & M work.

It needs to be emphasised that the term 'O & M' is used here not as a *technique* (which is also sometimes done) but as a *function* or activity, which is the responsibility of a particular agency. The term O & M, when used as a tool of management, is generally hardly differentiated from Work Study.⁶ But, considering both the classical and modern theories of administrative organisation, it would be unfair to use the term 'O & M' to connote a technique—a point which is explained in detail in the paragraph following the next.

The prevailing confusion about O & M and Work Study arises in a large measure from the claim made in certain quarters that it is possible to build up an entire organisational structure on the basis of work studies. This seems to be the view held by the top management of the Special Re-organisation Unit. In their joint article, Messrs. Indarjit Singh and K.N. Butani⁷ observe that "Having regard to the circumstances of administrative set-up in the country, it has been found more profitable to make an analysis of the organizational structure only after the methods of work have been carefully planned out and simplified. This is specially true in the organizational set-up of the secretariat of the government. The

6. H.P. Cemach, a great enthusiast for Work Study, likens the controversy between O & M and Work Study "to the quarrels of a young couple who intend to be married in the near future (*O & M Bulletin*, April, 1959, Letter to the Editor, p. 119.) In another Letter to the Editor, *O & M Bulletin*, October, 1959, p. 45, O.J. Linforth, Manager, O & M Department, Shell-Mex and B.P. Ltd., says: "...There is much to be said for having a single department knowledgeable about the tools of management and their uses. Such a department is, we feel, more able to consider objectively problems of productivity, in its broadest sense, than a specialist group claiming that Work Study or O & M or any other expertise confers on its practitioners the sole right to discourse on method".

The head of the S.R.U. echoed a similar view when, in his review of Cemach's book, he wrote: "The field of improving office is tremendous and it has enough room for technicians working under different labels even concurrently provided there is division of labour and the necessary co-ordination of efforts". *I.J.P.A.*, Vol. V, No. 1, January-March, 1959, p. 119.

7. *I.J.P.A.*, Vol. IV, No. 2, April-June, 1958, pp. 199 & 201.

higher structure is meant partly for some high-grade original work and partly for span of control. Since the latter is more than half the part of the ingredients of supervision, it is necessary that the analysis of the superstructure of the organization should follow the evolution of the design of the basic primary unit, the quality of work and the volume of load that it has to carry." The learned administrators further add that "Work studies indicated that with rapidly expanding activities of Government, the complexion of functions now performed is so different that the setting up of the primary unit of work into pre-designed inflexible structures requires reconsideration".

Work study as a technique has been associated with the physiological theory of organisation. It was first developed by Frederick W. Taylor. Its two major elements are, as stated earlier, Method Study (work simplification) and Time Study (work measurement). By using the technique of Work Study it is possible to determine basic work steps and standards for the achievement of a task or group of tasks, to build up the primary work unit on their basis and to construct the entire organisational structure thereon. However, there are several elements other than work studies which go into the determination of the organisational "tree". There is the consideration whether the work is to be departmentalised by purpose, process, clientele, place or time. Hence, the factor of efficiency alone does not determine the way of grouping the work. There are social and political factors too. There are problems of authority, delegation and co-ordination which are vitally connected with the quality and behaviour of human element and Work Study alone offers no adequate solution. The problems relating to the structure of organisation have been historically dealt with not by 'physiological organisation theory', with which Work Study is associated, but by "administrative management theory" put forward by Luther Gulick, Fayol, J.D. Mooney, A.C. Reiley and L. Urwick. In governmental organisations, there is also the consideration of 'public interest' which implies, among others, provision of institutional checks and balances against loss of integrity and allowance for public convenience and 'association'. Both 'physiological organisation theory' and 'administrative management theory' view the human element as an inert instrument performing the tasks assigned to it under the compulsion of economic rewards and punishments; they totally ignore factors associated with individual behaviour particularly its motivational bases and its cognitive processes. A 'full-rounded' theory of organisation, which is still to be evolved, should obviously take into account all the three aspects of the individual worker—the instrumental, the motivational and the 'intendedly' rational. An

organisation, really, is a "complex pattern of communications and other relations in a group of human beings."⁸

The reader might well ask: is "organisation" under O & M viewed in this broader perspective in other countries? The answer is both 'yes' and 'no'. The term O & M in the U.K., as we have seen, is more or less equated with Work Study, though it covers also studies of the machinery of the Government on the lines of the administrative management theory rather than the physiological theory of organisation. In U.S.A. also it covers top organisational studies. The American approach to O & M is broader in that a wider use is made of outside management consultants and of university talent whenever a specialised assignment is to be undertaken. Further, some of the problems, which now fall within the behavioural and management science approaches to the theory of organisation, are being tackled under a different terminology, e.g., executive leadership, human relations, operation research, etc.

The exact scope of O & M, as a function, for any country must be determined in the light of its particular needs. In other words, be O & M in India must develop its own approach and its own perspective rather than borrow the perspectives of U.K. and U.S.A. Shri S.B. Bapat, the first Director of the central O & M Division, defined O & M not as a *technique* but as a *function* in the following words: "In simple terms it means paying intelligent and critical attention not only to *what* is done but also to *how* it is done and *at what cost* in time, labour and money; paying attention to the design of the machine and its working processes and not merely to its end-product."⁹

The problem of O & M in countries like India is different in many respects from the one in U.K. and U.S.A. She has to meet the challenges of development and socialism. She has also a vast potential of the unemployed and the under-employed—a factor to reckon with in considering the schemes of rationalisation through Work Study or other similar devices. Again, the problem of higher efficiency is as much a problem of improving organisational structures or work methods as also of *motivating* organisational behaviour in a society where the levels of education and rationality are lower than in the West. It is, therefore, necessary that O & M in India, both as a concept and a function, should be conceived in a broader and more comprehensive perspective which is necessitated by the economic, social and administrative context of the country and which also takes into account the recent advances in social sciences.

8. Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior*, New York, Macmillan, 1957, p xvi.

9. *I.J.P.A.*, Vol. I, No. 1, January-March, 1955, p. 61.

O & M UNDER THE THIRD PLAN

The problems of expanding administration, increase in number of personnel,¹⁰ expenditure,¹¹ and red-tape¹² will grow more complex and larger in scale under the Third Plan. This will require a more sustained and intensive O & M effort.

But, perhaps, more important would be the question of implementation. It is well known that a good many projects and recommendations under the Second Plan have not been implemented due to certain known and unknown administrative deficiencies and lags. The dimensions and tempo of the Third Plan would require not generalisations, as are very often put forward, but specific O & M solutions on the basis of individual studies of major projects designed to find out the administrative deficiencies responsible for non-implementation or slow implementation. Here the work already done by the Committee on Plan Project may be of some help. But many more studies will perhaps be needed. As pointed out in a later section of this article, the study teams for projects may with advantage be composed of specialists drawn from various fields. O & M work in the field of projects implementation would call for attention not only to the structural and procedural aspects but also to those of motivation—an aspect which has been thrown up into relief by the conspicuous failure of programmes like community development in mobilising active public support.

10. According to the newspaper summary of the first report of the Economy Committee set up by the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party at the last budget session of Parliament, the total number of regular employees of the Union Government (excluding the staff employed by the Railways and personnel working in the embassies and missions abroad) increased from 6.5 lakhs in 1955 to 7.1 lakhs in 1958. The staff of the Railways has also increased from 7,73,368 in 1948-49 to 11,11,026 in 1957-58. In addition, there is more or less a permanent non-regular establishment of 63,000 employees. [*The Hindustan Times*, August 10, 1959, p. 6.] According to the newspaper version of the Second Central Pay Commission Report, there are about 18 lakhs employees of the Central Government. Of these, there are about 10,000 officers in class I, 20,000 in class II, 5.5 lakhs in clerical and other class III services, and about 12 lakhs persons in class IV and contingency staff. During 1955-58, the number of administrative and executive posts rose by 20,000 and that of ministerial posts by 40,000. [*The Hindustan Times*, August 25, 1959, p. 5.]

11. Wages and salaries paid by administrative Ministries excluding the departmental commercial undertakings, but including defence, have risen from Rs. 169 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 237 crores in 1959-60. Excluding the armed forces and the civilian personnel attached to the Defence Ministry, the wages and salaries of the administrative Ministries have, during the same period, increased from Rs. 75.4 crores to Rs. 107.7 crores, and the cost of staff in Railways has risen from Rs. 75.4 crores in 1948-49 to Rs. 173 crores in 1957-58. [*The Hindustan Times*, August 10, 1959, p. 8.] The latest figures, as given in the newspaper version of the Central Pay Commission Report, indicate that the total pay bill of the Central Government employees comes to about Rs. 408 crores annually. [*The Hindustan Times*, August 25, 1959, p. 12.]

12. According to the Report of the Economy Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party, "the length of the red tape consumed by the Union Government has increased from 19,68,625 yards in 1957-58, to 55 lakhs yards in 1959-60. [*The Hindustan Times*, August 10, 1959, p.6.]

An important O & M problem would be to discover new extra-governmental channels and agencies for undertaking increased governmental responsibilities both in scale and scope. There has been a lot of talk recently about bringing in voluntary organisations, public bodies and other agencies. However, the exact form and manner in which these may be usefully availed of remains a serious O & M problem for the Third Plan.

Again, a bold and widespread experiment is under way in regard to the setting up of popular bodies at the block level for undertaking development functions. The approach so far to this problem has been political and developmental; its O & M implications have hardly been given attention. These, as well as the question of integration of developmental administration at the block level with the 'regular' administration in the district, deserve serious attention from the point of view of organisation and methods. Again, the two basic institutions of the new pattern of society—the panchayat and the co-operative—pose several O & M problems, *e.g.*, the optimum size, co-ordination, integration, etc.

O & M problem in the public sector under the Third Plan would require more specific treatment. The comparative usefulness of various forms of organisations of public enterprises—departmental management, the government company, the statutory corporation, the autonomous boards, etc.—is still to be determined. The question of internal autonomy of public enterprises would require study and research in regard to the nature and form of decentralisation of financial and administrative powers with due regard to the stage of development of the enterprise and the nature of product and its manufacturing process. Methods of operating the enterprises will need no less attention, particularly in matters of determination of standard of performance and costs by the application of scientific techniques and here the experience gained in the private industry would be more relevant than the experience of Government departments.

Most of the O & M problems, which the Third Plan will throw up, will not be solved unless adequate O & M research and studies are undertaken in advance—a conclusion which is amply justified by past experience. Problems in "regular" administration—it must also expand with increase in developmental administration—which call for immediate research are : division of functions between various Ministries, span of control, the optimum size of an efficient working unit, the staffing patterns most suited to different types of governmental activities, the building of hierarchical structures conducive to high efficiency and morale and personnel development, decentralisation and deconcentration, reorganisation of the service structures to provide for

specialists and technical talents, the relationship between structures, work standards and 'attitudes', the simplification and improvement of forms control, the tendency of the administration to proliferate, the evolution of new forms and methods to make administration more responsive to public needs, the relative merits of administration by a single administrator *versus* administration by a collegiate body, the strengthening of "staff" aids and their relationship with "line" and horizontal and vertical co-ordination within the department and with outside government departments and agencies.

Last but not the least, the solution of any O & M problem should not be confined only to rationalisation of procedures and structures; the new structural and procedural arrangement must also cater to two additional essential requirements—those of public convenience and participation and internal checks and balances against loss of integrity. The latter two considerations are as vital to the successful implementation of plan projects as are factors of efficiency and economy.

INTEGRATION OF O & M EFFORTS

In order to enable O & M to meet the problems under the Second and the Third Plans and also fulfil its normal role, it is essential that the present O & M efforts, which are dispersed among several governmental agencies, are integrated and directed and guided by one top organisation. There is also need for better co-ordination of O & M work at present being undertaken by different central Ministries and Departments, as also co-ordination between the Central and State Governments, between Government and the public sector, and between the public sector and the private sector. At present there is little pooling of technical knowledge; it would obviously be profitable to set up some form of consultative body to advise the central O & M organisation. Bodies like the National Productivity Council, Indian Institute of Public Administration, universities and institutes giving courses on industrial engineering and management and associations of management should find a place on this body.

Even more important is the need for research in O & M. Some of the limitations of the existing O & M programme at the Centre arise from lack of research on O & M techniques. While the O & M Division has tried to keep itself seized of new problems arising in the Central Secretariat, it has paid little attention to the problems in the field and to the problems of overall organisational patterns. This has partly been due, perhaps, to lack of inadequate appreciation of the utility of modern tools of analysis and partly due to the nature of present staffing pattern of the Division—a problem which is discussed in a later section. Research in O & M postulates, first of all,

collection of up-to-date information about, and training in, tools of administrative analysis which have been developed in advanced countries like the U.S.A. It further requires the application of these tools, on a selective basis, to resolve problems of organisation and methods. The Special Re-organisation Unit has by now gained some experience in the application of tools of analysis for purposes of Work Study; but it, too, has not devoted much attention to research independent of day-to-day work. Nor is its experience publicly available. A well planned research programme by the O & M unit will be necessary to meet the administrative exigencies of the Third Plan.

Most important of all is the requirement of re-fixing at the top-most level an overall responsibility for policy formulation and determination of the form and scope of O & M activity to be undertaken throughout the entire governmental machinery. The form and content of O & M activity would obviously have to provide for dynamic growth and development both within each administrative agency and administration as a whole, but there must be an overall determination of the directions and the lines on which it is to proceed.

There has been recently some controversy about the respective roles of the central O & M Division and the Special Re-organisation Unit. However, as explained earlier, the work of the S.R.U. may well be regarded as only one of the facets of O & M work which is being performed through a specialised agency, *i.e.*, the S.R.U. Management improvement is a multifaced programme, and all the elements comprising it have to be used in a co-ordinated manner. These cannot be dissociated and dispersed over several independent authorities. The integration of O & M effort, both in terms of perspective and organisation, in the context of the present relations between the S.R.U. and the central O & M Division, calls for the creation of a new "Directorate of Work, Organisation and Methods". If the term, however, is deemed to be too cumbersome, it may, after the American pattern, be called the new "Directorate of Administrative Management Improvement"—a comprehensive term covering all the varied techniques of improving administration.¹³ Among the functions of such a Directorate the important ones may be as follows:

- (1) Overall responsibility for policy formulation and direction of the nature and content of O & M activity undertaken by the central O & M Directorate as also by the O & M and Work Study cells in individual Ministries;
- (2) Co-ordination of O & M work of the different Ministries, departments and offices of the Central Government;

13. A similar suggestion has been put forward by Cemach. See *O & M Bulletin*, December 1959, p. 87.

- (3) Organisation of a consultative (advisory) and operating service to assist Ministries and Departments which cannot afford to set up their own O & M unit and such other agencies as request for advice and help;
- (4) To act as a clearing house of information regarding O & M work done by the Central Government, the State Governments, the local bodies, and in foreign countries;
- (5) Organisation of training programmes for O & M personnel—in central Ministries, States, local bodies, universities, public enterprises and other public organisations; and
- (6) Publication of research materials, guides, manuals, bulletins and periodicals and other literature on both the theory and practice of O & M in India and abroad.

The Estimates Committee has observed that there is not “adequate justification for maintaining the two organisations (the O & M Division and the S.R.U.) as distinct units under two different Departments” and recommended that “the S.R.U. and O & M Organisation—*i.e.*, the O & M Division and the various O & M Units—be combined into a single organisation with a unified control under the Ministry of Finance as to enable the combined organisations to effect speedily economy consistent with efficiency.”¹⁴ The argument generally advanced in support of the separation of the two units is that their purposes are different: while the S.R.U. aims at economy, the O & M Division’s goal is efficiency. The S.R.U. is located in the Economy Division of the Finance Ministry and its chief is Joint Secretary (Economy). This Unit works under the supervision of the Central Economy Board. The Board consists of the Cabinet Secretary (who is its Chairman), Home Secretary, Finance Secretary (Expenditure) and the Director, O & M Division. Its function is to co-ordinate the work of the Economy Committees in individual Ministries and also to guide and direct the work of the Special Re-organisation Unit. The O & M Division has the responsibility of obtaining and placing before the Cabinet the reports of the work done in this context by the Economy Board and the various Economy Committees.

The two major contemporary issues in regard to the re-organisation of O & M machinery thus are: integration of, or co-ordination between the work of the central O & M Division and the S.R.U., and the fixation of the overall responsibility for direction and leadership. The central O & M Division, as initially set up was to be responsible for providing “leadership and drive”¹⁵—a responsibility which in

14. Estimates Committee, 1958-59 (Second Lok Sabha), 55th Report, *op. cit.*, p.16.

15. First Annual Report, O & M Division, Cabinet Secretariat. p. 1.

actual practice no longer seems to belong to it. The amalgamation of the S.R.U. and the O & M Division, as suggested by the Estimates Committee, appears to present certain organisational problems, as the Division is located in the Cabinet Secretariat and the Unit in the Ministry of Finance. At the time of the setting up of the Central O & M Division, the question of its location presented a serious difficulty.¹⁶

Considering that the chief consideration for integrating¹⁷ O & M effort is to give it an overall, all-comprehensive and dynamic perspective, it appears that the topmost O & M organisation should continue to be located in the Cabinet Secretariat. However, in order to

16. We have it on the authority of the first Director of O & M Division himself that the establishment of the O & M unit was "delayed for a considerable time by a dispute among some of the Ministries". At that time the Finance and Home Ministries made strong bids for fathering the new babe. The Finance Ministry pointed to the examples of the U.K. and the U.S.A. where the O & M units are located in the agencies of financial control, namely the Treasury and the Bureau of the Budget respectively. The Finance Ministry's stand was further strengthened by Appleby's recommendation "that the general strength and scope of the Ministry of Finance would rather point to locating the O & M office in it. [Paul H. Appleby, Public Administration in India—Report of a Survey, O & M Division, Cabinet Secretariat, 1958, p. 59.]

In reply, the Home Ministry pointed out that the British Treasury was more than a mere Finance Ministry and the same could be said of the American Bureau of the Budget. The Home Ministry, which is in general responsible for personnel work and for prescribing procedures for government work, argued that the O & M work naturally fell within its scope. The Home Ministry's case was strengthened by the following recommendation of Shri N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar. "It is not possible to separate questions relating to organisation of establishments from those relating to organisation of services. It is not possible to dissociate questions relating to organisation of the services at the Centre from those relating to all-India services. Hence my conclusion that responsibility (for O & M) should be located in the home (services) departments of the ministry of Home Affairs". (Vide: Report, *op. cit.* p. 36.)

Eventually, it was decided to locate the O & M Division in the Cabinet Secretariat directly under the Prime Minister himself. It was a wise decision in that as the support and encouragement from the highest levels give considerable impetus to the building up of O & M service, and the Cabinet Secretariat is better placed than any individual Ministry to secure co-operation and compliance from all Ministries/Departments. Moreover, in the interest of smooth working of the organisation, it should not be too closely associated with any single Ministry.

17. The O & M effort in the U.S.A. is dispersed due to the largeness of the departmental organisation and its manning mostly by specialists rather than generalist administrators. Overall leadership to a limited extent is provided by the Administrative Management Division of the Bureau of Budget which advises the President on the overall organisational problems. But the nature and content of the O & M programme is mostly determined by the department itself, of course, within the general framework of the services organisation which is supervised by the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

The Central O & M organisation in the U.K. is located in the Treasury; it provides central leadership and direction, trains personnel and even provides O & M services for the department and offices which do not have O & M cells of their own.

In Canada, the central O & M organisation, called the Organisation and Methods Service, is located in the Civil Service Commission and has a fulltime staff under a full-time chief. The purpose of the Service is to provide specialised advice and assistance to departments in the analysis or organisation, systems, procedures and work methods. The Organisation has an Informal Advisory Service Office Machinery and Equipment Service, Research and Informative Service, and an Electronic unit.

clarify its relationship with the S.R.U. and other organisations doing O & M work and to define its functions in clear and precise terms, the central O & M Division may be abolished and replaced by a new "Directorate of Work, Organisation and Methods" (or "Directorate of Administrative Management Improvement") as suggested earlier. The creation of a new directorate will solve the present stalemate in shouldering the responsibility for overall direction and leadership.

PROBLEMS OF STAFFING AND TRAINING

Staffing

Both the central O & M Division and the S.R.U., are, at present, manned by personnel drawn from the Civil Service—the central O & M Division by personnel of the Central Secretariat Service and the S.R.U. by personnel mostly of the Central field services, e.g., Indian Revenue Service, Indian Audit and Accounts Service. The S.R.U. has appointed one or two administrative analysts and has also obtained the services of a T.C.M. consultant on administrative management improvement for a short period. The techniques of Work Study, as applied by the S.R.U. to Government organisations in India, have been developed by the service officers mainly through their own study and efforts—which is indeed an achievement in itself. However, it is very likely that this achievement would have been far greater had the Unit drawn upon the services of those qualified in industrial engineering which is another name for the applied science of Work Study. The same observation more or less applies to the central O & M Division.

Another allied lacuna in the staffing pattern of both these organisations has been the singular absence of any personnel for research. Both of them have tried to copy the British pattern of staffing. In Great Britain, staff for a departmental O & M Branch are normally found from within by transfer from ordinary departmental work. The central O & M Division draws its staff mainly from other Departments but partly from within the Treasury itself. An O & M officer usually spends five years on the work, after which he returns to his parent department, the only exception being in the case of machinists. This policy of moving staff in and out, although it involves a sacrifice of skill and knowledge within the O & M unit, is believed to have definite advantages like the infusion of new blood to prevent the O & M staff becoming stale and strengthening the department by scattering within them a growing number of men with O & M experience.

In Sweden, however, the O & M personnel is drawn from a wider background; they are economists or graduates from institutes of technology, or suitable civil servants or military officers. The U.S.A., like Sweden, follows a variegated recruitment policy. It draws its staff, on a permanent basis, from various services, namely, graduates with a background of public or business administration, economics, political science, or engineering; and those previously engaged in O & M programmes in business and industry universities and civil servants. The Organisation and Methods Service in Canada, at the commencement of its career in 1951, tried the unique experiment of recruiting its O & M personnel by means of a competitive examination. The experiment proved a failure and she adopted more or less the pattern of staffing of the U.S.A.

The responsibilities of O & M, under the Second Plan and those which will devolve on it under the Third, necessitate a staffing pattern wherein specialist personnel are drawn from several fields such as industrial engineering, administrative experience within Government, psychology and sociology, civil and mechanical engineering and army organisation. Such a multi-dimensional staffing pattern is a necessary corollary to O & M function viewed comprehensively and dynamically, *i.e.*, to meet the demands of development and democracy in the framework of Indian society.

The central O & M Division was originally conceived as a collective and co-operative enterprise in which the main effort would come from within each operating agency and the task of the central O & M Division would be to supply the leadership and drive; it has not therefore employed an elaborate staff of its own, and it functions primarily through the cells set up in each Ministry and department. At present there are 65 such cells functioning in different Ministries, departments and offices. These cells are under the charge of an officer, generally of the grade of Deputy Secretary, designated as 'O & M Officer'. The O & M cells in the Attached and Subordinate Offices are generally under the officer in charge of administration and establishment work. The Director of the O & M Division is also part-time; so is the head of the S.R.U. But O & M, conceived in its broader perspective, needs the services of full-time personnel who can devote themselves to it without being disturbed by other demands on their attention.

Training

As regards training, the S.R.U. has organised an in-service training programme for its personnel as well as for selected trainees from

central Departments and Ministries. A representative from a university has also been admitted to it. The central O & M Division does not have any organised programme of training; training is imparted on the job, *i.e.*, by actually doing it. Advantage is presently being taken by the Division of the fellowship programme of the Indian Institute of Public Administration to depute one of its senior officers to U.K. and U.S.A. for advanced study and observation.


The problem of training in tools of management is obviously related to the development of the use of tools and the pattern of staffing; the former depends, in turn, on research. What appears to be at the moment feasible and desirable is a basic training course in the theory of organisation and management, a good theoretical and practical instruction in Work Study as applied both in Government and private industry, a familiarisation with modern tools of research of social sciences and a comprehensive grounding in administrative organisations and procedures as developed in India.

THE NEED FOR A NEW PERSPECTIVE

In brief, what O & M badly needs today is a new perspective which is *overall, all-comprehensive, dynamic and research-oriented*. It must be "overall" in that the final responsibility for O & M leadership and direction as well as for programming should clearly be at the highest level within Government, *i.e.*, with the Cabinet. It must be overall in another sense that O & M problems in the programme of work which is formulated should be viewed *as a whole*. The programme should be *all-comprehensive* in terms of problems, techniques, and approach, of course, on a phased basis; it would be fatal to confine attention to only one aspect or technique (*e.g.*, Work Study). Such a comprehensive and broader role of the O & M was also envisaged by Dean Appleby in his first report.¹⁸ Again, O & M problems, O & M techniques and solutions should be viewed *dynamically*—in the context of a developing economy, expanding government and changing society. Finally O & M in India must develop its own research so that administrative methods and organisation can be continually adapted to the new demands with the minimum time-lag.

18. "I recommend that the Government of India give consideration to the establishment of a central office charged with responsibility for giving both extensive and intensive leadership in respect to structures, management and procedures. At one level of highly technical and specific sort, it would give attention to work measurement, work flow, office management, filing systems, space arrangements and the like; at another level it would be charged with general governmental structural studies and proposals. I should hope that at this level also it would have a charter of responsibility for the enhancement of democratic manner and method within the bureaucracy and between the bureaucracy and the public". (Vide: Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India—Report of a Survey*. O & M Division, Cabinet Secretariat, 1958, p. 59).

The new perspective for O & M can be developed only if the urgency of its need is realised at the highest level in Government. The Central Cabinet would do well to set up an Administrative Organisation Committee,¹⁹ and to formulate a bold and comprehensive administrative management improvement programme for the Third Plan. A review of the five years' work is at present under way in the central O & M Division, but it is doubtful if the Division and the S.R.U. are giving *full* consideration to the implications of the Third Plan for O & M. Effective implementation of a small plan is perhaps more conducive to public good than indifferent implementation of a big plan. "There is little point in debating the ends or functions of the State, if we have no confidence that once resolved, these ends cannot or will not be effectively administered."²⁰



19. A recommendation to this effect was also made by Gopalaswamy Ayyangar in 1947. An *ad hoc* Cabinet Committee on Administrative Reorganisation was appointed in 1953 to examine the recommendations made in the first Appleby Report.

20. J.D. Millet, *Management in the Public Service*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1954, p. viii.

CORRESPONDENCE

"OF MATTERS ADMINISTRATIVE"

The Editor,
I.J.P.A.

Sir,

Shri S. Lall's review of *Shri A.D. Gorwala's* book "Of Matters Administrative" in your issue for April-June, 1959, calls for some comments. The review gives a rather distorted idea of the book. *Shri Lall's* summing up, stated in more or less his own words, is that *Shri Gorwala* has adopted the style and manner of a politician and has taken up the cudgels on behalf of the civil servant as against the politician. In actual fact, if *Shri Gorwala* may be said to take up cudgels on any one's behalf at all, it would be truer to say that it is on behalf of the average citizen for whom good and sound administration makes life so much more bearable and happy. The articles included in this collection deal with a variety of matters relating to Government's action and the underlying policy in regard to such action. All these topics have been dealt with objectively and while there is plenty of criticism, it is never merely destructive; constructive suggestions are invariably made, and it is these which make this compilation truly valuable. As for the style and the manner, while the manner may usually be disconcertingly frank, the style is always eloquent without a trace of declamation, accurate without a trace of exaggeration, and hard-hitting without a trace of malice or vituperation. There is nothing of the politician about his style; *Shri Gorwala* writes well and with vigour.

The series of articles included in this collection cover a wide range of

topics and each of them seeks to emphasise a specific point of administrative importance, what it would have been well to have avoided, or what ought to have been done, etc. This is not to say that one accepts all that *Shri Gorwala* has to say; indeed, there is not a little that is controversial. But he is always stimulating and thought-provoking.

Thus the very first article entitled "Enlightened Ruthlessness" begins with a definition of the expression 'Enlightened Ruthlessness' which is described as "that power within a man in authority, which enables him to take decisions solely on grounds of the public good or the good of any cause he may have at heart, whatever the strain on his own emotions or loyalty, the effect of such decisions on particular individuals, the closeness of the ties between him and the individuals or the strength of the influence they are able to bring to bear upon him." The article then proceeds to show that "The scope of enlightened ruthlessness is not confined merely to appointment and dismissal. It should operate at every stage of administrative existence. The Minister or Secretary, who sees some deterioration in the work of his subordinates, but even after consideration, will not point it out in order to avoid embarrassment and inconvenience to himself, is a curse to the public service. So, too, is the Minister who in Cabinet feels his colleagues are taking, of their own accord or under the impress of some strong personality, a wrong decision, but has not enlightenment enough to speak out ruthlessly." It is evident that what *Shri Gorwala* seeks from

the practice of enlightened ruthlessness is something which every democrat should require of the minister and the senior civil servants and that it does not imply, as Shri Lall seems to do, an indifference to public opinion.

Then take the second article on "The Autonomy of State Enterprises." It begins thus: "There are few better tests of political maturity for a Government than the capacity to delegate. This involves not only willingness to part with a portion of power and ability to select the right people to trust with it, but also a continuing willingness to let the people to whom it is entrusted exercise it without interference." Taking at random a later article in the book on the subject of "Delay in Publishing Committee Reports", this is what Shri Gorwala has to say: "A very important principle is at stake in cases of this nature. Democracy functions by action and interaction between the Government and the people. The people cannot take their proper part in this relationship unless they are kept informed. When Government withholds information from them, it in effect prevents public opinion from being formed and consequently, from making itself felt. It breaks the due relationship, so to speak, between the parties and produces the impression that it wishes to arrogate to itself the information available with regard to a particular subject so as to prevent the mind of the people from examining it, appreciating it and coming to its own conclusions."

In an article entitled 'Sound Basic Administration' he points to the lesson of history which is "that ultimately it is the failure of administration in its basic tasks that often brings revolution. It is when the citizen feels the grievance of injustice strongly, as inefficiency affects him more and more in his ordinary life,

that he holds any change must be for the better and pays heed to any leadership, however, undesirable."

Again in an article dealing with 'Local Self-Government' Shri Gorwala has something very penetrating and worthwhile to say: 'Sympathetic foreigners...often have one serious complaint. They find Indians by and large not at all interested in local government. Since to them, local self-government, the proper management of the area which they inhabit, village, rural district, or urban borough, is a matter of the greatest importance, they find this astonishing. The foundation of democracy, as well as its best training ground is in their view the governing body. How then can men really anxious for the democratic management of public affairs afford to neglect this sphere as completely as they find it neglected in India?'

We may go on quoting thus from article after article to show how this book abounds in words of wisdom for the student of administration. The articles deal with surprising variety of subjects, all, however, studied from the point of view of some administrative failure or achievement. Not one of them is directed against the politician as such; they are indeed directed against no one. Rightly interpreted, they are an effort in educating the Government as well as the governed in the country through frank and objective criticism of actual policies, how vitally important it is that execution of such policies should be efficient and sound. There is nothing merely polemical in it. It is indeed a book which students of administration, and Indian administration, in particular, will do well to read and ponder over.

Yours faithfully,

Vallabh Vidyanagar, H. M. Patel
August 13, 1959.

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Sir,

I am thankful to *Shri H.M. Patel* for pointing out that I have not been able to interpret correctly the point of view expounded by *Shri Gorwala* in his book "Of Matters Administrative".

In dealing with such a large variety of administrative and allied subjects, there is the risk of not seeing the wood for the trees. Error in interpretation is possible. But I did state that *Shri Gorwala* "can claim to speak with authority", that "his views are entitled to be treated with respect" and that the articles contain "much legitimate criticism". While I have pointed out that there is an explanation for much that is happening in administration which should be taken into account, I have also emphasised that "this does not mean that what is happening is correct". If I have given the impression that *Shri Gorwala's* articles are not valuable or relevant to present-day conditions, I should like to correct this at once by stating that the general public, the politician and the civil servant can derive much benefit from what he says and that much of what he says is both important and relevant.

But I do not of course agree with everything that is said; in some cases while I agree generally with what is said, I am not happy about the way in which it is said. I have felt that the approach might have been somewhat different. In some cases the criticisms also appear to me to be rather one-sided and not entirely fair. This, in my opinion, is a pity because it might tend to weaken the force of the legitimate criticism. I could give quotations and reasons to support my views, but this would hardly serve any useful purpose. As *Shri H.M. Patel* recognises, "there is not a little that

is controversial". We are all anxious that the country should have a sound, honest and efficient administration. This objective must not be allowed to get blurred in futile controversy.

The great constitutional change that has taken place in India calls for some difference of outlook and some shift of emphasis in the consideration of administrative matters. For instance, "enlightened ruthlessness", as quoted by *Shri Patel*, is described as "that power within a man in authority, which enables him to take decisions solely on grounds of the public good or the good of any cause that he may have at heart, whatever the strain on his own emotions or loyalty, the effect of such decisions on particular individuals, the closeness of the ties between him and the individuals or the strength of the influence they are able to bring to bear upon him". Obviously all this is very sound. But "the man in authority" cannot exercise that power without regard to the source of his authority. Further, he may consider his ruthlessness to be enlightened when many would call it improper. In a democracy the people can hardly be expected to give *carte blanche* to the "man in authority". Therefore something more vital is necessary.

The "man in authority" making a decision must also take positive steps to see that the public accepts that decision as in its own best interest. And what is the public interest in a democracy? Surely, it is not what an individual, however enlightened, regards as such, but what the public accepts as such *after a full statement and explanation of the relevant facts*. The words in italics are important as it is the duty of the Minister and the civil servant in a democracy to see that what is considered to be in the public interest

does not go by default. This is the most difficult and indispensable task of the "man in authority", requiring not only knowledge and experience but also tact, patience and courage. If he fails in this, his other excellent qualifications will be of no avail. While therefore I agree that the "man in authority" should act with complete honesty and with firmness, he should also exercise tact and discretion. "Ruthlessness" without tact and discretion might be a dangerous boomerang unless it is a prelude to resignation for which there might be good justification, but it is a step that is taken in the last extremity.

The importance of public acceptance in the democratic set-up of India today needs to be specially emphasised. In being firm the "man in authority" must also be particularly careful not to irritate the public which has its own built-up psychological attitudes towards various matters that may not be altogether rational. It is sound policy to study the public, to understand it and to do all that is possible to help it to become a good master. History has many examples of a democratic people being veered round from the wrong to the right path. But this is not likely to be achieved by irritation.

The Minister being the duly constituted representative of the people is the one in authority. The civil servant must serve him with the fullest loyalty. But this does not mean that he should become a 'Yes-man'. Not at all. The Minister holds office in trust for the people. The civil servant's loyalty to the people transcends his loyalty to the Minister. In view of his number, and experience, he constitutes an important section of the people. Nevertheless, loyalty to the Minister, so far as the civil servant is concerned, is supreme. All that he

could and should do is to make clear to his Minister in an objective and discreet manner what he considers to be right or wrong in the public interest. Failure to do this should be regarded as dereliction of duty. The Minister, of course, is entitled to act independently or contrary to the advice of the civil servant. The civil servant is then bound to carry out loyally the orders of his Minister.

Now I fully appreciate the fact that a civil servant is naturally afraid to be frank when he feels that this would not be welcome to the Minister. It is alleged that frankness would be prejudicial to his future and that in any case the Minister's decision has to be carried out. But what is the remedy? Surely not that the civil servant should keep quiet and do what is expected or that he should move the public against his Minister. The latter would be as bad as the Minister blaming the civil servant in public when anything goes wrong. The real remedy is for the civil service to develop its own code of honour, which should not merely mean the protection of its rights and privileges, but also its determination to discharge its duties and responsibilities without fear of illegitimate consequences. The code of honour must aim primarily at maintaining a high level of discipline, integrity and efficiency. Further, the civil service must develop an *esprit de corps* both to safeguard its members against victimisation and to pull up its backsliding members. In proclaiming and defending this code of honour, it should be made clear that the public interest is the most important consideration. Collectively, the civil service should seek to enlist the approval and support of the Cabinet to its code of honour. There may be difficulties in regard to recognition or the details of the code of honour, but I do not imagine that they cannot be overcome. Unless

there is a proper understanding between the Minister and the civil servant, the latter will become negative, as the Home Minister has recently complained, and the former will become ineffective, as the public will sooner or later find out. It should therefore be possible to arrive at some satisfactory arrangement whereby the Minister and the civil servant can work in harmony and effectively.

Failures in administration, such as corruption, delays in correspondence and publication of reports, withholding important information from the public, lack of interest and action in matters of basic administration etc., have been the subject of frequent comments in public and the press. Yet they continue without abatement. The public suffers no doubt, but it lacks maturity and needs guidance. It seems therefore that the concentration of effort should be on the adjustment of the machinery of administration with a view to creating a better understanding between the civil servant, the Minister

and the people. This tripartite co-operation is, in my view, of basic importance. Without it no substantial improvement can be expected. In achieving the desired result, the civil servant, collectively but not individually, can play a highly important part. Such collective action to maintain administrative standards is being taken by the civil services of some progressive countries and by the international civil service. In India it is most needed because the falling off is so marked. If the civil service in India fails to make this collective effort, the civil servant must share the blame with the Minister for the deterioration in administration. Because of his number, experience, training and security of tenure, his failure will be less excusable and he will have himself to thank if the public is more critical of him than of the Minister.

Yours truly,

S. Lall

New Delhi,
September 14, 1959.



(I) RECENT TRENDS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

The current emphasis on need for economy in matters of recruitment in recent months has been endorsed by the Economy Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party in its recent report. The Committee finds that the total number of regular employees of the Union Government increased from 6.5 lakhs in 1955 to 7.1 lakhs in 1958, excluding the staff in the railways and embassies and missions abroad; the number of administrative and executive posts in the period rose by 20,000, and of ministerial posts by 40,000. The wages and salaries paid by Government administrative departments, excluding the departmental commercial undertakings but including defence, rose from Rs. 169 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 237 crores in 1959-60. The Committee has recommended that as a part of an all-out effort to control the mounting expenditure on staff all recruitment to the "administrative and executive", "ministerial", "skilled", and "unskilled" categories be stopped forthwith for one year, and that, with the exception of technical personnel, all posts lying vacant and not filled for six months and more should be abolished. Steps should be taken to create a central pool of employees. Ministries should scrutinize closely their staff position and staff found surplus should be put in the central pool to be deployed where needed. Further, no extension should be given to staff beyond the age of superannuation except in very special circumstances.

Parliament has passed the Employment Exchanges (Compulsory Notification of Vacancies) Bill providing for the compulsory

notification of all vacancies, other than those of the unskilled categories, to employment exchanges by the managements of both public and private sectors.

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In the field of training, a notable recent development has been the establishment of the National Academy of Administration at Mussoorie by the merger of the I.A.S. Training School, Delhi, and the I.A.S. Staff College, Simla, from September 1. *Shri A.N. Jha*, I.C.S., till recently Vice-Chancellor, Sanskrit University, Varanasi; and formerly Chief Secretary to the Government of U.P., has been appointed the Principal of the Academy. A combined foundational course of 4 months' duration has been instituted for probationers of the All India and Class I Central (non-technical) Services, (Postal, Income-tax, Audit and Accounts, Customs, Excise, Defence and Accounts. The foundational course is designed to develop among recruits to different services a feeling of belonging to a common public service, and a broadly common outlook. At the completion of the course the probationers of the services other than the I.A.S. will proceed to their respective training centres for institutional training; the I.A.S. probationers will, however, receive further training at the Academy.

The Government of India has revised the syllabus of institutional training of the Indian Police Service probationers to place more emphasis on syndicate work and group discussions and to include instruction in subjects like crime and *modus operandi*; criminals, criminal gangs

and criminal psychology; police and public administration, etc. A new feature will be practical training in dispersing crowds, regulating traffic, combating corruption, fire service, emergency relief, civil defence, probation, and aftercare of discharged prisoners.

In *Assam*, the State Government has introduced a revised scheme of in-service training for officers of the I.A.S. allotted to the State and the probationers of the Assam Civil Service. An I.A.S. probationer would, on initial appointment, be attached to the Headquarters of a district as an Assistant Commissioner and given practical training in a whole range of subjects, such as revenue, magisterial work, development, excise, etc. In the case of the A.C.S. probationers more emphasis would be given to training on the job than to the utilisation of their services during the period of probation. Talks and discussions would also be arranged to give them background knowledge about district administration, criminal law and procedure, office management, financial proprieties, public relations, code of conduct, etc. It is proposed to organise a State Training School to impart institutional training to the A.C.S. officers.

The *Andhra Pradesh* Government has decided to organise short refresher courses for all Civil Constables on the promotion list and for 60% of the existing Civil Head Constables.

The Special Re-organisation Unit of the Union Ministry of Finance, commenced the second session of its course in work study on August 7. It is being attended by 15 senior officers drawn from the Central Government (including the Directorate-General of Civil Aviation, Post and Telegraphs Department, All India Radio), the Hindustan Steel Ltd. and a university.

The Government of India has framed rules regarding the grant of financial assistance to Government employees in legal proceedings against them. If any proceedings, civil or criminal, instituted against him by the State in respect of matters arising out of or connected with his official duties or position, conclude in his favour and Government is satisfied that the employee was "subjected to the strain of the proceedings without proper justification", it will consider whether the whole or "any reasonable proportion" of the expenses should be reimbursed to him. Where the proceedings are instituted by a private party, the Government may consider if it could itself defend the employee. If the Government servant himself conducts his defence the question of reimbursement will be considered only when the proceedings conclude in his favour and in determining the amount of compensation, the Government will consider how far the court has vindicated the Government servant.

In *Andhra Pradesh*, the State Government has directed that Government servants seeking redress of their grievances arising out of their employment or conditions of service should, in their own interest and also in consistency with official propriety and discipline, first exhaust the normal official channels of redress before they take the issue to a court of law.

With a view to avoiding the dislocation of office work arising from the attendance of various official functions by senior officers during duty hours, the Government of *Assam* has issued instructions that the officers should attend such functions only if they are conveniently timed i.e., held either before 9.30 A.M. or after 4.30 P.M.

In *Madhya Pradesh*, the posting of senior civil and police officers,

at divisional and district levels, to their home districts has been prohibited. This rule will, however, not apply to postings in the Secretariat offices of heads of departments, teachers in educational institutions, Government servants of class III (ministerial), class III (executive) services recruited on a district basis and class IV services.

The *Punjab* Government has amended the Government Servants' Conduct Rules to ban strikes by Government servants and to disallow membership of any association of Government employees which is not approved or recognised by the State Government.

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The trend towards the liberalisation and improvement in terms and conditions of service and pay scales, consistent with the need for economy and efficiency, continues. The Second Central Pay Commission submitted its report to the Government of India on August 24. The Commission's terms of reference were wide and included conditions of service. It is understood that the Commission's report deals with a variety of important problems concerning the public services.

In *Bombay*, a seven-member committee has been appointed to make recommendations regarding pay-scales, service conditions, hours of work, etc., of full-time as well as part-time teachers working in technical and industrial institutions in the State. The State Assembly has sanctioned a "consolidated allowance" of Rs. 100 p.m. for members of the State Legislature in addition to their monthly salary.

In *U.P.*, the State Government has sanctioned, retrospective from March 1, 1959, an additional dearness allowance of Rs. 2.50 p.m. for the whole-time employees of local

bodies with monthly emoluments below Rs. 97.50, and of Rs. 5 p.m. for employees with monthly emoluments between Rs. 100 and 200. The State Government has also decided to allow the State Government servants to keep their provident fund savings with the Government for a period of three years after retirement.

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The Informal Consultative Committee of Parliament, attached to the Ministry of Community Development, has decided to have four functional sub-committees which would devote special attention to (1) panchayats and democratic decentralisation, (2) co-operation, (3) study and training, and (4) community development.

A nine-man Study Team has been established with *Shri S.D. Mishra*, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Community Development and Co-operation, as leader, to study the working, achievements and drawbacks of 26 pilot projects for industries set up by the Union Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation in conjunction with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in different States and Union Territories.

An Expert Committee has been set up by the Government of India to examine the question of increased credit required for expanded programme of co-operative development.

The Government of *Bihar* has created 16 posts of District Development Officers, in the scale of Rs. 800-35-1150, one for each district, to assist the District Officer and to relieve him appropriately in respect of work relating to community development and national extension service.

An advisory council for urban community development has been set up in *Delhi* with the Mayor, *Shri Trilok Chand Sharma*, as Chairman and 18 members including councillors, M.Ps. and representative of the various local social organisations.

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The Planning Commission has constituted an eight-member Panel on Agriculture under the chairmanship of *Shri Shriman Narayan*, Member, Planning Commission, to advise the Commission in the formulation of agricultural programme under the third Five-Year Plan.

The University Grants Commission has suggested to universities the setting up of a planning unit in each university to prepare a detailed third Five-Year Plan for the development of the university.

In *Madras*, orders have been passed for the constitution of an All-Party Committee consisting of members drawn from both the Houses of the State Legislature to advise the Government on matters relating to the preparation of the State's third Five-Year Plan.

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The *U.P.* Government has set up two working groups—on Technical Education and Village and Small-Scale Industries—both under the chairmanship of *Shri S.S.L. Kakkar*, Secretary of the Industries Department. The first group will assess the requirements of technical personnel in the State during the third Plan period and formulate proposals for the development of technical education, including craftsmen training. The second group will deal with long-term planning in the field of village and small-scale industries, and in particular,

determine priorities and finalise draft preliminary project reports for inclusion in the third Plan.

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Among the important committees, councils or boards which have been set up or are in the process of formation are : *Centre*—a five-man committee for the evaluation of the working of the multi-purpose special blocks, a six-member advisory committee to advise on financial assistance to educational institutions of all-India importance engaged in educational research and allied activities, a national council for women's education and an inter-ministerial agricultural co-ordination board; *States*—a committee on the reform of examination system in *Andhra Pradesh*, a city co-ordination council in *Bombay*, and a working group to study the problem of school and collegiate education in *Delhi*.

The Public Works Divisions and Sub-Divisions have been re-organised in *Mysore* to secure more effective and prompt execution of plan and non-plan works and improvement of all-round efficiency.

The Government of *West Bengal* has abolished the Department of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Forests and created in its place three new Departments—the Department of Agriculture and Food Production; the Department of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Services; and the Department of Forests.

In pursuance of the recommendation of the State Economy Committee, the *Andhra Pradesh* Government has sanctioned the appointment of Financial Advisers to Secretariat Departments having the status of Deputy Secretaries, with the object of providing for effective financial control over expenditure.

(II) NEWS FROM ABROAD

The Government of *Pakistan* has announced the appointment of a Pay and Service Commission headed by *Mr. Justice A.R. Cornelius* of the Supreme Court to review the structure and organisation and inquire into salaries and conditions of the Civil Service. A Projects Division charged with the responsibility of implementing development projects and watching their progress has been established in the President's Secretariat.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, U.K., has appointed a small group headed by *Lord Plowden* to assist the Government in its review of the

control of public expenditure.

In the U.N., a Special Economic Policy Board has been established under the chairmanship of the U.N. Secretary-General to streamline the handling of Governments' requests for economic and other aid. *Shri C.V. Narasimhan*, U.N. Under-Secretary for Special Political Affairs, has been appointed as the Executive Member of the Board. The Technical Assistance Committee has recommended that technical assistance programmes should be planned experimentally for a two-year period to improve the effectiveness both of planning and execution.

(III) INSTITUTE NEWS

A Short-term Course on Planning was organised by the Institute, in association with the Planning Commission, from August 3 to 29. It was attended by 16 officers drawn from the Planning or Development and Finance Departments of nine State Governments and three representatives from the Central Government. About 34 experts which included senior officers of the Planning Commission and the Government of India and professors gave talks on various theoretical and practical problems of planning.

A similar Short-term Course on Budgeting was organised from September 14 to 26 in co-operation with the Union Ministry of Finance for officials of Governments, both State and Central. *Dr. Robert Herman*, Director of Research, Bureau of the Budget, New York State, U.S.A., delivered a series of eight lectures on the Theory and Practice of Programme and Performance Budgeting.

A two-member delegation, consisting of *Prof. V.K.N. Menon*, Director, I.I.P.A., and *Shri K.P. Mathrani*,

I.C.S., Director, O & M Division, and Joint Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, attended the XIth International Congress of Administrative Sciences held at Wiesbaden, Federal Republic of Germany, from August 30 to September 3.

Lectures delivered recently at the Institute's premises were: "Planning and Public Administration" on August 10 by *Prof. D. R. Gadgil*, Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona; "Institutional Factors and Development Planning" on August 17 by *Dr. V.K. R.V. Rao*, Vice-Chancellor, University of Delhi; and "The Poverty of Nations" on August 20 by *Dr. P.S. Lokanathan*, Director-General, National Council of Applied Economic Research.

The Institute has announced the third Essay Competition. The subjects for the 1959 Competition are one or more aspects of Public Enterprises or Public Service Commissions, or Democratic Decentralisation. Closing date is January 31, 1960.

The Executive Council, at its Thirty-second meeting held on August 8, re-coopted *Shri Vishnu Sahay*, I.C.S., Cabinet Secretary, Government of India, and *Gen. K.S. Thimayya*, Chief of the Army Staff, as members of the Executive Council, for one year.

The annual General Body Meeting of the Mysore Regional Branch, held at Bangalore on July 18, elected *Shri P.V.R. Rao*, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Mysore, as Chairman, and *Shri T.R. Satish Chandran*, I.A.S., Deputy Secretary to the Government of Mysore, as Honorary Secretary.

A seminar on 'Problems of Urban Housing' was organised by the Regional Branch at Bombay on September 6-7 under the presidency of *Shri K.L. Panjabi*, I.C.S. (retd.), former Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government.

Important publications recently brought out by the Institute are: (1) Improving City Government—Proceedings of a Seminar (September 13-14, 1958); price: Rs. 3-50. (2) Morale in the Public Services—Report of a Conference (January 3-4, 1959); price: Rs. 2-50.

Shri L.P. Singh, I.C.S., till recently Member-Secretary, Pay Commission, Government of India, who has been connected with the Indian Institute of Public Administration in various capacities and as the Editor of the Indian Journal of Public Administration, has proceeded to the Harvard University (U.S.A.) for nine months' stay. He will be a Fellow of the Harvard University Centre for International Affairs, and work in the field of political and economic development.

During *Shri Singh's* absence from India, the Director of the Institute will act as Editor of the *Journal*.



DIGEST OF REPORTS

ISRAEL, REPORT OF THE PUBLIC COMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES AND STANDARDS OF CONDUCT OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS, of the Israel Political Sciences Association, Jerusalem, 1959.

The Committee was appointed in June 1956 by the Israel Political Sciences Association under the chairmanship of *Justice Z. Berenson*, of the Supreme Court of Israel. In the present report the Committee has attempted to formulate a code of ethics for civil servants, leaving the preparation of a similar code for ministers and others elected officials for a later stage. In making its recommendations, the Committee took note of the study prepared by *Dr. Y. Dror*, Instructor in Political Science and Public Administration at the Hebrew University, which contained, *inter alia*, a comparative analysis of the rules of conduct for civil servants prevailing in various countries and jurisdictions, the experience of its members, comparative research into conditions prevailing in the public service of other countries, and the need for the adaptation of these data to the conditions of Israel.

The recommendations of the Committee are primarily intended to assist the civil servant in establishing guide-lines for his own conduct and to help him in the formation and development of a tradition of a responsible, loyal and efficient public service; these can also be of assistance to the competent authorities faced with the need to formulate laws and regulations concerning service in public bodies. The findings of the Committee are given below:

(1) *Application of the Recommendations*

The principles and standards detailed in the present report apply

to civil servants and other public officials, subject to modifications resulting from the differences between various public bodies.

(2) *General Duties*

(a) A public official owes allegiance to the State of Israel and its laws.

(b) A public official represents in the eyes of the public the body in which he serves and the public service in general. In order to fulfil his duties and purpose, the public official requires the confidence of the public. It is the duty of the public official to protect the reputation of the public service and to refrain from committing any act likely to cast aspersion on the service and to arouse suspicion, albeit unfounded, with regard to the integrity and rectitude of the public service.

(c) It is the duty of a public official to fulfil, honestly and loyally, all tasks incumbent upon him, to observe the provisions of the law and to serve public interest alone.

(d) It is the duty of a public official to conduct himself, both within the framework of the service and outside that framework, in a manner befitting his function, his status and the honour of the agency in which he serves.

(e) It is the duty of a public official to treat courteously and without favouritism all persons applying to him.

(f) It is the duty of a public official to do his utmost, within the framework of his functions, to

further the work of the agency, to improve administrative procedures, to increase productivity and to ensure the observance of the principles and standards that are to govern the conduct of public officials.

(g) A public official should conduct himself respectfully and politely towards his colleagues, including his superiors, equals and subordinates.

(3) *Political Activity*

(a) A public official should abstain from any political or public activity likely to impair, or to seem to impair, his ability to maintain public interest above party interest, or his ability to perform his tasks without favouritism.

(b) Senior public officials and persons holding representative positions are especially required to refrain from any conspicuous political activity, including public appearances on behalf of a political party, participation in political demonstrations and processions, and participation, either written or oral, in political debates from public platforms.

(c) A public official is required to refrain from any political activity while on duty or at his place of work.

(d) A public official may not make use of his official status for partisan purposes. He is particularly forbidden to attempt to influence the political opinions of those subject to his authority or of persons with whom he has contact in the course of his functions.

(e) A public official may not collect funds in support of a party or any political body whatsoever.

(f) A public official may not make use of political connections in order to obtain promotion or preferential treatment within the service. It is also forbidden to the public official to show preference or discrimination towards another official, to recommend or to refrain from

recommending him, or to determine his attitude towards him, on the basis of identity or diversity of political views or on the basis of partisan considerations.

(g) A public official in his private capacity is entitled to express publicly, both in writing and orally, his views on general public matters unconnected with his work, provided that he observes the principles stated above, and within the following limitations:

- (1) A public official shall express himself in a style and manner befitting his status.
- (2) A public official shall not publicly criticise, either orally or in writing, the office or agency in which he serves.
- (3) A State official shall not publicly criticise, either orally or in writing, any other government offices, or government policy, unless he has previously obtained permission to do so from his superiors.

(4) *Labour Relations*

(a) The nation and the state entrust public officials with important functions and extensive authority in the belief and expectation that public officials will conduct themselves with self-restraint befitting their status as public servants. As all citizens, the public official is entitled to strive for the improvement of his working conditions and to organise to this end and for other collective activities, including, *inter alia*, participation in the improvement of public services, in increasing their efficiency and in the furtherance of a tradition of responsible public service. At the same time, the public official, when negotiating over his working conditions, should refrain from employing means incompatible with the special relations of loyalty and joint service that tie him to the state.

(b) The Committee recommends to public bodies and to organisations of public officials to establish joint mediatory machinery for the clarification of issues on which they disagree.

(c) The Committee recommends to organisations of public officials to set down a rule whereby, in case of dispute with a public agency, only an authorized national body of a public officials' organization should be entitled to decide on measures that are liable to disturb the work of the public agency.

(5) *Business and Social Connections*

(a) The duty of a public official to perform his functions without favouritism and for the public good calls for abstention from situations in which it would be difficult for the public official to withstand material or social pressure that might be brought to bear on him for the purpose of causing him to deviate from his course of duty.

(b) In order to avoid, as far as possible, the creation of situations which might make it difficult for the public official to perform his duties correctly, he should refrain from establishing any business or commercial relations, in person or through others who act for his benefit, with bodies which come into contact with him in the exercise of his functions.

(c) Thus, a public official should refrain from close social contact with persons having frequent recourse to him at his work, to the extent to which such connections might influence or seem to influence him in the performance of his duties as a public official.

(d) A public official is forbidden to accept from a person or a body which come with him in contact in the course of his functions, directly or indirectly, either himself or through members of his family, any

benefit or gift which go beyond the dimensions customary in ordinary social relations.

(6) *Dealing with Applications of Persons Close to the Official*

A public official should refrain from dealing with applications in matters of business, commerce, and the like, of persons or bodies whose relations with him would render it difficult for him, or might cast a doubt on his ability, to deal with their applications without favouritism. Such person and bodies include, *inter alia*, members of his family, bodies or persons with whom he worked prior to entering public service, bodies or persons with whom he has business or commercial relations and the like. When such a person or body applies to him, the public official should refer them to another official. In cases where this is impossible, he should inform his superiors in writing of his special relations with the applicant.

(7) *Restrictions after Termination of Service*

(a) In order to avoid suspicion of favouritism, a public official who leaves the public service should refrain for one year from the date of his leaving the service from accepting employment with any person or body with whom he has had contact in the course of his functions in the public service and to whom he had granted licences, concessions, contracts for the execution of works, and the like, unless he received special permission from the management of the public body in which he had worked (in the case of a government official—from the Civil Service Commission).

(b) A public official who leaves the public service should refrain for two years from representing any individual or body before the office in which he served or before other

public offices with which he had contact in the course of his functions. Also, he should refrain for all times from representing any individual or body before the office in which he served or before other offices with which he had contact in the course of his functions, in those matters with which he dealt while being a public official.

(8) *Secrecy*

(a) A public official is forbidden to communicate to any other person information which is not publicly known and which reached him by reason of his work, except, insofar as this is necessary for the fulfilment of his functions or as he is authorized to do so by his superiors. Such information is a trust entrusted to the public official for the purpose of fulfilling his functions, and for this purpose only.

(b) A public official is forbidden to use for personal benefit information which reaches him by reason of his work. To avoid suspicion, public officials will refrain from participating in any private transaction wherein the information which he has is of any significance.

(c) The prohibitions detailed in the sub-sections (a) and (b) above apply to public officials after their separation from public service as well. A former public official wishing to publish information that is not of public knowledge and which had reached him by reason of his work, must obtain written permission to do so from the management of the body in which he had served.

(9) *Duty of Notification*

To the extent to which a public official gains knowledge of the commission, within the body in which he serves, of an unlawful act, it is his duty to notify his superiors.

(10) *Additional Employment*

(a) A public official should devote the best of his working capacity and ability to his functions in the organization in which he serves. He is forbidden to undertake any additional work except by permission of his superiors. To the extent to which a public official has received permission for additional work, he is required to report to superiors, to be appointed for this purpose, whenever required to do so, full details as to the nature of the additional work, its place and the income or any additional benefit which he derives from it.

(b) The public official is forbidden to engage in additional work liable to impair his working capacity within the public body.

(c) A public official is forbidden to engage in additional work likely to impair or to seem to impair his ability to perform his functions without favouritism, or not befitting his position as a public official. *Inter alia*, a public official when doing additional work, is forbidden to engage in preparation of data or applications intended for the public body in which he serves. He is also forbidden, in the course of his additional work, to represent a person or a body before any public agency or before any person or body with whom he has contact in the course of his public service.

(d) A public official is permitted to engage in activities of a public nature for which he receives no remuneration, subject to the restrictions contained in sub-sections (b) and (c), above.

(e) A public official is permitted to engage in any artistic, literary or scientific work, which does not entail a permanent connection. To the extent to which a public official derives financial income from such work, he is required to report it to

superiors to be designated for this purpose.

various laws and legal orders.

(11) *Personal Conduct*

In order to preserve the reputation of the agency in which he serves as well as the confidence of the public, a public official should conduct himself at work and in his private life in a manner fitting the rules of ethics, decency and courtesy, and should serve as an example in obeying the

(12) *Authorized Interpretation*

The Committee recommends to all public bodies, which have not already done so, to set up a unit or to appoint a functionary to whom employees of the institution can apply for an authorized interpretation before the fact, in all matters concerning the standards of conduct applying to them.



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I, V. K. N. Menon, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dated : October 1, 1959

V. K. N. MENON

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ORGANISATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA; By THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1958, xii, 416p., Rs. 20.

The Indian Institute of Public Administration deserves to be congratulated warmly on its publication "The Organisation of the Government of India". It is no exaggeration to say that, of its kind, this is one of the most well-thought out and well-planned compilation. The object with which this book was undertaken is stated to be to provide a convenient source to which teachers and students of Political Science and Public Administration in India "could refer for full and up-to-date information regarding the organisation and functions of the machinery of our Government." The objective has certainly been achieved. The Institute realises that revised editions will have to be brought out at fairly frequent intervals, for, we are living in a dynamic period and in many directions changes in organisation and even in the top machinery of Government will be unavoidable. Already the compilation has become out of date; there are, for instance, now separate Ministries of Education and of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs; a new Department of Co-operation has come into being; and there have been significant changes in the allocation of subjects as between Ministries. It would, nevertheless, perhaps, be advisable to bring out a completely revised edition only after a period of time not less than say three years, and during the intervening period make available annual supplements, giving an account of the changes that may have taken place in the intervening 12 months. This will make it possible to undertake a more satis-

factory revision as also to enable the purchasers of the present edition to keep themselves up-to-date at a relatively low cost.

It is inevitable that there should be some errors and omissions in a compilation of this nature, particularly when it is a first effort. The surprising thing is that there are so very few errors and omissions. I venture to mention here one or two that have struck me, they are indeed not strictly omissions but their inclusion, to my mind, might have made the book more complete.

The historical introduction relating to the Cabinet Secretariat might, thus, well have been expanded. It makes no reference, for instance, to the fact that the Viceroy's Private Secretary had ceased to function as the Secretary of the Executive Council for quite some time before Independence. Indeed, the regular Cabinet Secretariat organisation was created early in 1946 with Sir Eric Coates as the Cabinet Secretary. Simultaneously was established a Co-ordination Committee of the Cabinet, presided over by the Finance Member, to ensure a co-ordinated policy among the departments, concerned with economic and industrial matters. The Secretaryship of this Committee was entrusted to a Joint Secretary of the Cabinet. It was also decided that the Cabinet Secretariat should provide the Secretariat for all the more important Inter-Departmental Committees that may become necessary to set up from time to time. Perhaps, the most significant innovation was the creation

of a Military Wing in the Cabinet Secretariat in charge of a Military Officer of the rank of a Deputy Secretary. This was perhaps the first time that the Defence Ministry and the Armed Forces were associated with an essentially civilian organisation in this direct manner. The existence of a Cabinet Secretariat organised on these lines was of great help when the interim Government was formed in September 1946. At that date the Viceroy was still the effective Executive Head of the Government and the Cabinet Secretariat was directly responsible to him. To make possible a satisfactory liaison between the Viceroy and the leader of the interim Government, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, it was arranged that the Joint Secretary of the Cabinet should work as the Principal Private Secretary to him.

The Cabinet Secretariat was organised on the British model and, as in the U.K., was designed to, and does in fact, play a very vital role. Perhaps in the revised edition it would be useful if a fuller account is given of the part that the Cabinet Secretary plays in the organisation of our Government. An energetic Cabinet Secretary sets the tone for the civil service at the centre. It is inevitable also that as a very senior and experienced civil servant he should be looked upon by the Prime Minister and his colleagues as a reliable guide not only on matters procedural but in regard even to such questions as the administrative feasibility of new and may be radical policy proposals. His colleagues in the civil service likewise tend naturally to turn to him for advice both on administrative and political aspects of propositions under consideration in their respective Ministries.

The brief historical accounts which precede the description of the functions and organisation of each

Ministry are of very considerable interest. In some cases, they appear to be unduly brief. It seems to me that, even if it be only as a matter of record, it would be a good thing to set out in a slightly more comprehensive manner the reasons which led to say, the name of a Ministry or its functions being materially altered, or in a new Ministry being created. Sometimes the reasons are very human. It is said, thus, that the chief reason which led to the combining of the Food and Agriculture Ministries was the fact that the State Governments got into the habit of furnishing two sets of figures to the Government of India in regard to the production of food grains in their respective States—one set of figures to the Ministry of Agriculture, and another to the Ministry of Food,—for the obvious reason that from the latter a larger allotment of food grains would be justifiable only if the production figures within the State were shown to be at a low level, while only by showing to the former definite increases in production could their demand for increased grants under the 'Grow More Food' and other programmes become sustainable. It was felt that the two Ministries could act more effectively and in a more co-ordinated manner vis-a-vis the State Governments only if they could speak with a united voice!

Reference may be made to one or two minor points. At p.32, the Attached and Subordinate Offices have been defined. The former is stated to be "responsible for providing executive directions required in the implementation of the policies laid down by the Ministry, etc.", and the latter, "field establishments responsible for the detailed execution of the decision of Government". The distinction is not very clear. Why, for instance, should such important offices as the office of the

Textile Commission and of the Tariff Commission be regarded as subordinate offices, while those of the Salt Commissioner or even of the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports be treated as Attached Offices. They are all offices responsible for the execution or the executive direction for the implementation of the policy decisions of the Commerce and Industry Ministry. There is indeed no real difference of substance or principle that distinguishes an Attached Office from a Subordinate Office. The distinction is largely arbitrary and possibly the only really distinguishing feature is the difference in the scales of salaries to which the staff in the lower categories are entitled in the two types of office.

The brief note on 'Secretariat Procedure' is a very good account of the procedure within a Ministry; no reference, however, is made to the manner in which co-ordination as between the Ministries is achieved at the secretariat level. This is obviously of very great importance in practice and needs to be dealt with fairly fully. Consultation with Ministries which might be interested in the consideration of any proposition takes place on files and through personal discussion. Of late, all important matters tend to be considered at meetings; this makes elaborate noting less necessary and enhances the chances of a satisfactory decision being reached more expeditiously.

The organisation and the functions of the Planning Commission have been described quite adequately. Is it appropriate, however, in a compilation of this kind to include actual details of the First and the Second Five Year Plans? What might, however, have been relevant would have been to have drawn pointed attention to the kind of fact

which becomes clear from the description of the functions of the various divisions of the Commission that the Planning Commission is coming perilously near to encroaching upon the functions and responsibilities of the central Ministries. Again, among the advisory bodies to the Planning Commission is included the National Development Council. This is surely inaccurate. The Council is composed of the Prime Minister, the Chief Ministers of all the State Governments and the members of the Planning Commission. The National Development Council is obviously a body superior to the Planning Commission. It is indeed a policy making body and its recommendations cannot but be regarded as policy decisions and not merely as advisory suggestions.

In the account given of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department, it would have been an advantage had reference been made to the question of the separation of accounts from audit. The latter is undoubtedly the responsibility of the Comptroller and Auditor-General while the former should ordinarily be that of the Government. What led to the combination of these two functions is mentioned in the historical account, but why after Independence the situation remains unaltered has not been explained. At one time, the first Auditor-General of Independent India had himself expressed the wish that this separation should be carried out as quickly as possible and an experimental division of some offices was carried out. That view has been modified of late. There is no doubt something to be said for letting things remain as they are, but is there a weighty case to justify separation? Although no final decision has yet been taken by Government, some reference to the results of the separation on an

experimental basis would have been of value.

Finally it would have been a good thing if in the portion dealing with the Council of Ministers and the Cabinet, a somewhat fuller account had been given of what is understood by the Cabinet system of Government in the United Kingdom, from which we have borrowed it, in what respects we have departed from that model and to what extent we have definitely accepted the principle of collective responsibility

of Ministers, etc.

May one hope that a compilation describing the organisation of State Governments will be undertaken at an early date, if indeed it is not already in hand? It would suffice, perhaps, if the details of the organisation of one representative State Government are given, and then in regard to the others, only the points where they depart from that standard model may be described in full.

—H. M. Patel

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION; By ASOK CHANDA, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1958, 274p., 25s.

This book has not received the active attention it deserves in view of the vital importance and urgency of the administrative problems it deals with. There has no doubt been some abatement of un-thinking criticism of the post-Independence working of our administrative machinery and, in particular, of the officers who have to run the machinery. It will however be readily conceded that a re-orientation of our administrative machinery for adapting it for our democratic constitution can be delayed no longer. In the words of the author, "a high level comprehensive examination of the machinery of Government should now be undertaken to give administration the form and purpose necessary for the realisation of the objectives of a welfare state." Apart from the Pay Commission, no authoritative body on the lines of a royal or parliamentary commission has been set up so far for examining this vital question of the appropriate machinery of Government. In default of such regular Governmental investigation, the public must welcome such study of the relevant problems as may be forthcoming from individuals who, by virtue of their administrative experience, are in a position to deal with them in a competent manner.

This is what has been done in the present book. It, therefore, behoves our legislators and political leaders as well as our Government to bestow adequate attention, and, what is more important, to take action, on the analysis made by the author of our basic administrative problems and on the recommendations he has made for solving them.

The explanatory background which the book gives to the several constituents of Government and administrative machinery provides incidentally an extremely useful history, in a remarkably succinct form, of the evolution of Indian administration. What is of the most practical value in the book is however the analysis of the "present set-up and trends (of the administration) and the direction in which it would need to be modified to suit the growing needs of our Government and its social policies", in the language of Dr. Radhakrishnan's foreword. The most valuable portions of the book are thus those dealing with the reforms which the author considers necessary for adapting the administrative machinery, particularly the services, for the welfare state. As stressed in the foreword, the author writes with personal knowledge of

many aspects of administration. The author's personal experience of the secretariat must not be deemed to be confined only to his tenure as secretary proper in the (now defunct) Production Ministry. It may not be now generally known that throughout his long and varied career as financial adviser his administrative colleagues always welcomed, and often sought, his advice on the merits and soundness of the administrative aspects of cases.

Mr. Chanda's analysis of our administrative problems and his views and suggestions regarding re-orientation of the machinery must, therefore, obviously command attention. How far his views on the more general constitutional problems such as the position of the Parliament, functions of the President, size of the Cabinet, status of the Planning Commission, etc. will find favour with the politicians and members of Government is not easy to say, even though his views may claim a high degree of soundness in the light of experience of countries with forms of government and administration analogous to our own and in the light of the short actual experience we have had since 1947. The author seems to have been faintly conscious of this uncertainty and therefore he has only analysed the issues and posed the problems requiring consideration and action as regards the matters of more general interest. Regarding certain reforms the author has, however, made his own constructive suggestions also. His views and suggestions regarding the position and functions of the services and the working of the Secretariat must, however, obviously receive much greater attention.

For bringing about a perceptible improvement in the standard of living of the people high hopes are being built on the five-year plans. The

proper execution of the projects covered by the plans would depend primarily on the efficiency of the civil services, technical and non-technical. As would appear from the failure to utilise large percentages of grants and from the delay in the completion of projects there is a danger of our plans being wrecked on the rock of lack of trained and efficient personnel. Particular value must therefore attach to his recommendations designed to improve the efficiency of the role which civil servants are to play in administration.

It will be readily agreed that "the question of resuscitating these (the old All India) services or finding a suitable alternative requires immediate consideration." There will also be general agreement with the powerful plea for a re-organisation of certain technical services on an all-India basis with necessary central control as in the case of the Indian Administrative Service and Indian Police Service. The functions to be discharged by the services have gained enormously in importance and complexity. It is obvious that only the cream of the Indian intellectuals can do justice to these functions. All the best products of the universities in the whole of India must therefore be picked out and pressed into the service of the nation every year.

There is no reason why action should not be taken immediately on the author's alternative of organising the technical services and central services jointly with such States as have agreed, or can be prevailed upon to agree, to a joint cadre. All will endorse the author's plea for the retention of the system of inflow and outflow of administrative officers from the States to the centre. The pity of it is that the convention is more often than not sought to be honoured in breach than in observance.

The author's plea for the integration of existing services into a common civil service is more debatable. His main reason for pressing this recommendation seems to be that the best talent from services other than the Indian Civil Service and Indian Administrative Service does not enjoy free flow to promotion to the highest offices. The resulting mental complex and discontent therefore affect efficiency. With all its limitations recruitment by an open competitive examination of the kind conducted by the Civil Service Commission in the United Kingdom and our own Union Public Service Commission continues to be accepted as the most practical method of recruitment for public services. In defence of this test Lord Macaulay urged that those who distinguished themselves in the arts and sciences in their academic life generally made their mark also in the various spheres of life in which they sought their career. Is it not therefore rather too late in the day to quarrel with that system and advocate the formation of a single service with diluted personnel in which would be herded together the good, bad and indifferent?

Attention may also be drawn to a few of the valuable specific recommendations regarding reforms, particularly of the Secretariat, on which action ought to be taken without further delay.

The number of the annual intake of the recruits to the All India Services should be fixed on a long-term basis. The necessity of this has been demonstrated by Government having to undertake two special recruitments since independence. Recruits of all services should be given a multi-purpose training. The position of the Secretary in the Central Government must be stabilised and defined as clearly and firmly as

possible. Recent events have brought into greater relief the urgency of establishing stable and practical conventions governing the relations of the Secretary and the Minister. The business rules for the transaction of Government business must also be made more indisputable. Prescription of suitable disciplinary action against officers seeking to invoke the aid of politicians and legislators for redress of personal grievances; improved pensionary provisions; the anomaly of an officer of the status of Joint Secretary in the Home Ministry being left in charge of the administration of the services (against which several Cabinet Ministers have protested since independence) and entrusting this function to "a high level officer answerable only to the Prime Minister" are also some of the specific suggestions on which action can be taken without delay. In view of the relations between the Public Accounts Committee and the Comptroller and Auditor General having now been firmly established, the author's suggestions regarding improvement in the procedure for the exercise and enforcement of Parliament's control over financial administration and his criticism of the proneness of the Estimates Committee to going beyond its sphere will, it is hoped, be received with good grace by all concerned. Similarly his suggestions for preventing or minimising delay brought about by financial approval having to be obtained to minor departure in plans must obviously carry great weight as the large-scale annual surrender of funds has become almost a scandal. All will endorse heartily the author's plea that the relations of the Comptroller and Auditor General with the administration should now be co-operative and the British practice of disposing of irregularities at personal discussions and recording in the final report only serious lapses and defaults

should be progressively established so that the administrative allergy to audit as being only keen on showing the administration up may abate.

The author has made constructive suggestions of a highly practical nature for improving administrative methods and procedure which urgently require mending or ending. The overall value of the book is

thus very substantial. If the powers that be initiate a high-power examination of the fundamental issues and take action, without further delay, on the constructive suggestions of a practical nature the author's labours should be amply rewarded and the country would have good reasons to be grateful to him.

—R. N. Banerjee

PROVINCIAL METROPOLIS; By L.P. GREEN, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1959, 275p., 30s.

This book is the result of the research undertaken at the invitation of the University of Manchester by Dr. Green, formerly Lecturer in Public Administration on the staff of the University at Natal and now a member of the Department of Town Clerk in the City of Johannesburg, into the problems of planning and administration in the area of South-East Lancashire, the home of the cotton textile industry in England.

In every country increase in urban population and the growth of vast conurbations around industrial and commercial cores gives rise to complex problems of organisation and maintenance of civic services. Obsolescence of old industrial areas and blight of property in central districts of large cities give rise to problems of overspill and re-siting of industries. This requires planning on a broad basis, transcending limits of jurisdiction of existing local authorities, which were constituted over a hundred years ago on local rather than regional or zonal considerations. In the cities of yesterday a man's home and place of work were fairly close to one another but rapid means of transport have separated the homes from places of work by as much as 50 miles and the daily procession of commuters to and from the city has resulted in acute shortage of parking and congestion on the

roads. The historic city of London occupies not more than one square mile but Greater London which corresponds with the metropolitan police district of 722 square miles with a population of 8.3 millions in 1951; the county council's jurisdiction extends over only 117 square miles of this vast urbanised region. Greater New York is divided between two States and 556 boroughs, cities, towns and villages. On the West Coast of America there is a continuous zone stretching over 600 miles.

The book is a plea for a new concept of a 'metropolitan region' as the unit of study and provision of civic services. This concept is based on the twin factors of community of interest and accessibility. The general pattern of a metropolitan region is a central industrial and commercial core in which the vast percentage of the working population of the area resides and the inner and outer zones, denizens of which spend several hours of the day in the inner core. For fixing the metropolitan framework a study of the pattern of population, land use, traffic, communication, journeys to work, market and entertainment, urban and rural services—in short all that is implied in the basic concept of the circulation of peoples, goods and services between homes and places of

work is included. After marshalling all the data, Dr. Green has identified the metropolitan region of South-East Lancashire with an area of 793.2 square miles and a population of 2.716 million in 1951. The heart of this region is the town of Manchester to which gravitate in varying proportions citizens from different zones of the region, the commercial and industrial core of which consists of 23 square miles from Urmiston to Stockport.

At present the municipal administration of this area is in the hands of 16 central government agencies, 5 divisions of national public corporations, 2 regional corporations, a hospital board, several hospital management committees, 23 national health executive councils and 76 local authorities. For certain functions one local body has often to be given jurisdiction outside its limits but constant wranglings between the local bodies about provision of space for overspill and other problems are leading to loss of faith in local government and concentration of power and functions in the hands of the central government as in the case of gas, electricity and health services. The solution suggested by Dr. Green is a radical re-organisation of local government on a regional and zonal basis. According to his scheme Metropolitan Lancashire would form a county council having jurisdiction in metropolitan and ancillary matters for the whole of the region. New second-tier district councils would be established for each of the 15 subsidiary zones in which the area will be divided. In each subsidiary zone containing a population more than 100,000 the existing local authorities would form a new county borough. Elsewhere municipal boroughs would be formed thus reducing the number of units of local administration from 76 to 16. The services to be provided would be

divided into 3 categories:

- (a) those to be provided, financed and administered by the county council;
- (b) services to be financed, planned and organised by the new county councils, but to be delegated either wholly or in part to the new district councils; and
- (c) services to be financed, planned and administered solely by the new district councils.

In the allocation of the services, the county councils exercise greater control on boroughs situated in the inner zone than those which are situated in the outer zone. Among the services reserved for administration by the county councils are overspill housing, industrial and commercial development, public transport, water-works and police services. Town and country planning, sewage disposal, fire services are to be financed, planned and organised by the county councils with power of administration delegated in varying degrees to the district councils. Other services would be managed by the district councils on their own.

The two-tier system suggested by Dr. Green is not original and is based on past experience in England, America and elsewhere. The two-tier formula was also at one time advocated for Delhi but was not adopted for the reason that some of the local bodies, which would have constituted the second-tier in Delhi, were still in the formative stage. There was no point in delegating powers to units which had not developed a tradition of local democracy or sizable revenues for performing functions which could best be performed on a local basis.

Although much of what Dr. Green says may not be immediately

applicable to India until our industrial revolution gets going for two or three decades, the book, apart from being an intensive study of a particular region, contains a bird's-eye view of the problems of local government in industrial areas and attempts made elsewhere to meet their challenge. The growth of local self government in our country has, for various historic reasons, been weak and we shall not probably

encounter the same difficulties that have been encountered in England in revision of boundaries of local authorities. At the same time the book will be useful to our administrators and councillors as a warning against basing municipal administration on purely geographical units rather than on the more dynamical concept of a population with common interests.

—A. D. Pandit

PUBLIC ENTERPRISE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT; By A.H. HANSON, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959, xiv, 485p., 42s.

This book on public enterprise by Prof. Hanson is a welcome addition to the literature on economic development dealing as it does with one of the important techniques of contrived development which has not received adequate attention so far. It is likely to be useful particularly to students of public administration in under-developed countries who wish to have an orientation in the economic aspects of public enterprises.

The author has attempted a comparative study of public enterprises in a number of countries, but the focus is on the politically independent, non-communist under-developed countries. Turkey, Mexico and India are selected for case studies. The great value of the book lies in the bringing together of the experiences of a large number of under-developed countries in the field of public enterprise. The different forms which public enterprises have taken in these countries are described in detail and a number of important issues are touched upon in the course of the narrative. But the attempt at comprehensiveness makes the treatment very sketchy and the reader is likely to miss the wood for the trees. Moreover, the author has tried to deal with various problems of economic development itself, which

are, if at all, only remotely concerned with the main theme of public enterprises: for example, the appropriate role of deficit financing, mobilising the saving potential found in the form of disguised unemployment and even the entirely separate problem of the choice of taxes in the context of development. The discussion of such issues could well have been omitted.

A major implicit premise—made explicit in some places—of the author is that it is desirable to have a large public sector in spite of the enormous difficulties involved in efficiently organising and running public enterprises in under-developed countries. He seems to be most in sympathy with the general economic policy adopted by free India where significant public enterprises are thought of as permanent features of the economy. Though Prof. Hanson does point out (pp. 132 and 145) that Mexico, for instance, has been able to achieve a considerable measure of economic development in spite of adhering to the opposite policy of fostering "free enterprise" and widening its sphere, he nowhere makes it quite clear that a permanent and growing public sector is called for only if a country wants a socialist-oriented economy. It is not the requirements of economic

development or the "logic of the situation" as such that postulate the existence of a large public sector—with public enterprises in strategic fields—as a *permanent* feature of the economy; it is rather the goal of a socialist society which some countries like India have freely chosen to adopt.

The existence of a well-trained civil service, a fairly large educated middle class, an independent audit system and other factors has made India, among most under-developed countries, a particularly suitable place for the growth of public enterprise. A line of thinking which prescribes large "doses" of public enterprises in all under-developed countries is likely to end up by burdening some governments with tasks which they are clearly ill-fitted to perform. The Burmese Government has considered it necessary at this stage to retreat from some fields of enterprise. This may be as wise a step for Burma as it has been for India to go forward in several fields.

While it is true that public enterprises are an important and essential means of furthering development in under-developed countries, their range and scope will vary with the totality of conditions in each country. The author would have done well to bring out more clearly the factors that determine the desirable range of public enterprises in any given country.

A great deal of study and research has obviously gone into the writing of this book. The survey of the various types of developmental agencies found in under-developed countries is well-organised and comprehensive. However, in the discussion that follows the author does little more than raise a number of important issues. In particular, the role of public enterprises in resource-mobilisation is inadequately dealt with. All in all, this is a worthwhile book, but a reminder that much work in this field remains to be done.

—R. J. Chelliah

COLONIAL PLANNING—A Comparative Study; By BARBU NICULESCU, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1958, p.208, 18s.

This study of Colonial Planning attempts to provide a comparative analysis of the attempts at planning made in various colonial areas from 1930 onwards and especially in the post-1945 period. The idea of planned public expenditure found favour with colonial administrations especially in the period after the great depression. Even in the metropolitan countries, the *laissez faire* approach was largely given up as a result of the depression and this had considerable impact on colonial economic policy as evidenced by the Colonial Development Act, 1930, passed by the British Parliament. The war-time experience regarding the useful role of Government in the economic system gave further

impetus to the idea of preparing plans of development. The Soviet experience in planned development and even to a certain extent German experience influenced this new orientation. Therefore, planning for colonial development became a normal feature of colonial administration in this period.

As the author admits, there are such large variations in the economic and social conditions prevailing in the different colonies that an attempt to generalise about colonial planning is bound to be somewhat hazardous. But many of the colonies present sufficient similarity both regarding the basic problems faced by them and the efforts made to solve these

problems to make a comparative analysis of such plans worthwhile. The reasons for the retardation of economic development in most of these colonies are largely similar; so also the difficulties in the way of development. Their social framework is not adjusted to the use of modern techniques; and also the techniques that developed in the advanced countries are not specially suited to conditions which prevail in these areas. Moreover, by definition, most of these areas were under the political control of some metropolitan power and this influenced the whole process of development. While the approach of the different metropolitan powers to economic development of their colonies varied in basic objectives and this affected the type of development efforts undertaken to a certain extent there are sufficient similarities in the plans to indicate that essentially there is a common approach.

Planning in colonies, Dr. Niculescu points out, could not obviously be of the Soviet type both for ideological and practical reasons. The administration which was charged with the task of planning had certain peculiar features. There was a general shortage of staff, both technical and administrative, and as this staff had been traditionally recruited from the metropolitan country to a large extent, with the impending political changes, such staff was no longer readily available. The lack of effective knowledge of and consultation with the people in the colonies also meant that the political decisions that are necessary for any fundamental changes in the socio-economic structure were not forthcoming and this inevitably limited the nature of the plans. Therefore the colonial plans could not deal with the economy as a whole, with the national output as a whole, but only with certain tools of production. Even

there, the author points out, certain limitations seem to be inherent in the extent to which the planners were ready to go. The emphasis in the plans generally was found to be on the development of *known* resources rather than on prospecting and surveying in search of *new* ones—most plans tacitly considered that to be the business of private enterprise. The plans concentrated not directly on increasing production as such, but on the provision of the necessary framework for the development of production, for example, the establishment of communications, adequate supply of power etc. Even when more direct participation in problems of production was considered proper, as happened in the case of agriculture, such participation was largely confined to defensive measures like campaigns against soil erosion. The decisions made regarding priorities emphasise this observation. While in the plan discussions, a number of new ideas emerge, some of them controversial, in practice considerable priority is given to three or four fields which were already generally accepted and being developed. Communications followed by agriculture take up the bulk of productive investment and education followed by health at some distance take up the bulk of investment in the social services.

The study provides some very interesting information about the planning experience in these years. It points out that though in most lands lip-service is paid to the impact of social services on the development process, by and large, the plans continue to look upon social services as consumption rather than as investments. When planning for resources, the impact of development expenditure on generating resources in the future is many times ignored. This leads to very peculiar results in resource planning for the future. The

estimate for the future, the author points out, generally evades any mention of increased resources attributable to the development plans themselves. "The tendency has, therefore, been to envisage future resources on the basis of projected present resources minus projected present recurrent expenditure and minus additional recurrent expenditure arising from new capital development projects, thus leading to the rather paradoxical situation by which development implies a diminution of future budgetary resources available for additional development." (pp. 132-133).

Many of the peculiarities and defects in colonial plans to which Dr. Niculescu draws attention seem to stem from the nature of the administrative machinery in these areas. The bulk of the colonial administrators have been a body of "specialists" in colonial problems without much leavening of technical specialists in important administrative positions. The institution of the District Officer who is in charge of all aspects of administration in the district with considerable delegation of powers but without any real technical knowledge or competence has been an important part of most colonial administrations. Such a system, the author points out, is not very effective when there is a shift from the maintenance of law and order to economic development and welfare as the main function of administration. He also points out how the differences in customs, in language and in material and educational backgrounds between the District Officer and the population living under him create a gulf between them, the relations between them at best being as between a guardian and a ward and this proves harmful to planning because, as the author points out, guardians are notoriously unable to understand the needs

and emotional processes of their wards.

The artificiality of administrative units in most colonies is pointed out by the author as another important hindrance to effective planning. The units have not been integral units, socially, economically or politically. This has made effective planning with a correct understanding of the needs and aspirations of the people concerned difficult. Even when decentralised planning is attempted to overcome this difficulty, the sub-units or regions also many times being artificial in character, this does not prove to be of much help.

The analysis put forward by the author shows how the administrative machinery as developed in colonies vitally influences the attempts at planning there. The "problem" approach to planning is usually considered better than the "departmental" approach. But because of the administrative machinery already existing in the colonies, the departmental approach generally prevails. In most cases, it is the department which prepares schemes and the so-called plan often does not go beyond some of the departmental plans. The schemes already discussed and processed by the departments are co-ordinated and put together by a small and generally ineffective planning unit. A semblance of integrated planning is attempted to be given in the plan papers but that this is only an appearance is indicated by the fact that financial allocations as between different departments many times remain proportionately the same as before planning is attempted. Plans, the author points out, become especially in the early years, a sort of summary of departmental projects for a number of years ahead. Therefore the "plan" has only a theoretical existence. "With a good deal of straining at the truth, it might be said that

the immediate concern of planning has been the development of administrative activities and only at one removal that of the territory itself, even though the development of the territory may have been the ultimate aim." (p. 149). The departmental approach also means the rule of thumb or common sense approach to planning rather than a scientific approach which latter means taking a whole view of the development of a region or territory and priorities based upon this integrated and long-term view. While certain colonial administrations seem to have attempted the latter on the whole it seems that such an approach to planning is adopted only by special planning teams mainly coming from outside as for instance special teams provided by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Another way in which the administrative structure influences plan development is indicated to be in the type of disbursement of resources. The tendency has been to concentrate on a few and large investments which need little administrative staff and to give less importance to programmes involving a multiplicity of small projects. Such programmes obviously would need a large number of low level administrative staff mainly local in character and not many colonial administrations have such staff or are ready to entrust responsibility to them in the early stages of development.

Dr. Niculescu points out that in spite of these defects, colonial plans have served a very useful purpose. For one thing, they have enabled administrators to give up the idea of looking only a year ahead, and

helped them to take a long range view of developments and further they have also helped them to think in terms of co-ordinated and integrated development rather than on departmental lines. Moreover, with the considerable political instability and change in the colonial areas, the plans have provided a focus of continuity and stability. They have provided fixed schemes of activities to which successive administrations could refer. In a period of political change, the plans have helped to maintain a certain continuity of action.

The study also goes into a number of technical problems relating to the plans but we cannot go into those aspects here. It must be mentioned that the book is of great interest to students of public administration. Dr. Niculescu points out that planning is mainly an administrative exercise. In some ways planning can be considered successful to the extent that it can help "de-politicize" an increasing number of sectors, get them accepted as technical matters out of the realm of political controversy, thus ensuring that economic development is not bogged down due to political changes. To us in India this study would be found to be of interest in many respects. The problems that we face as well as the instruments at our disposal including our administrative machinery have had considerable similarities. Some of the peculiarities of early plans pointed out by Dr. Niculescu are not very dissimilar to those experienced in this country. The analysis he presents is therefore of considerable interest to planners and administrators in India. —H. K. Paranjape

HUMAN RELATIONS IN ADMINISTRATION; By ROBERT SALTONSTALL, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959, xv, p.736, \$9.50.

A study of administration does not provide us with a set of ready-made conclusions immediately appli-

cable to policy. The gap between the norms of administration and the art of effective administration is filled

up by a study of human relations. Human relations, as defined by Saltonstall "is the study of people at work, not only people as individuals but people as members of informal work groups, people as executives in managements, people as union members, and people as members of organisations with economic goals." With this end in view Saltonstall has divided the study of human relations in administration into five parts as follows: (1) Background and perspective; (2) Organisation framework for effective human relations; (3) Developing the urge to produce; (4) Understanding human problems and behaviour at work; and (5) Development of professional leadership.

In dealing with the background and perspective in regard to human relations in administration, Saltonstall gives a historical picture of the gradual evolution of the importance of the study of human relations in industrial administration. Most of it is in the nature of repetitive socio-economic history, particularly in regard to the development of industrial and labour relations. In the chapter on finding the facts about human relations he emphasises the importance of research, particularly through case studies. The importance of this cannot be over-emphasised in any organisation so as to strike a proper balance between the needs of the people and the needs of the business.

In dealing with the organisational framework for effective human relations Saltonstall delineates the fundamental principles which should govern the structure of an organisation. The study of line and staff relationships does not contribute anything new to the knowledge of the twin aspects of an organisation. However, there is a very useful summary of the allocation of respon-

sibility in matters of personnel administration between the staff and the line functionaries. (pp. 144-146). The section on developing the urge to produce restates the basic satisfactions of employees from their work and which, therefore, act as incentives in developing the urge to produce (pp. 164-167). Saltonstall emphasises the importance of human relations in the development of the urge to produce and calls for "aggressive and inspired and sensitive leadership, high standards of performance and adequate discipline which leads to mutual respect" as between labour and management. The proper allocation of personnel is really comparable to that of a jigsaw puzzle wherein each piece finds its appropriate place. The importance of the foreman as a link between the management and labour has been shown convincingly. In this connection the basic objectives of human relations training as enumerated on pages 232 to 235 are to be noted.

As regards understanding human problems and behaviour at work Saltonstall's contribution is limited to certain general considerations in the understanding of human relationships, particularly in considering the ways in which resistance to change could be overcome. Here he is more concerned with the resistance of operators than that of the socio-economic framework with which theoreticians like Schumpeter were concerned. The importance of informal organisation and work groups and communications in the proper understanding of human relations have been properly worked out.

In the part on development of professional leadership Saltonstall is on comparatively weak ground while emphasising the effect of sound leadership and linking it up with the skill enjoyed in business.

He does not fully explore the possibilities of participation in leadership. The chapter on developing professional managers makes interesting reading and the one on untapped potentials of people gives useful hints as to how to bring out the best in the personnel of an organisation. The cases that have been appended to the study support the general conclusions of the author but these only serve to emphasise the broad principles which have been known and appreciated for quite some time.

It would appear to be a useful text book for the business executives but one cannot help feeling that the book could have been compressed to about 300 pages. Much of the historical part as also Parts 4 and 5 should have been left out; for here is a subject which does not lend itself particularly to rigid definitions and the laying down of formulae for the successful tapping of the human potential in administration. To students of Governmental administration parts of this book will be of interest. It will be seen, however, that there are basic differences in the approach to a study of human relations in administration, in the public and the private sectors. Whereas in an industrial enterprise participa-

tion is limited to the operators, in Governmental administration, public participation has a key role to play and the success of such an organisation depends largely on the extent to which such participation can be evoked. Further in an industrial enterprise the objectives are set and planned from the top, whereas in Governmental administration which is of the people such objectives are built up from below and a framework is to be provided for the purpose. Such a sequence in the building up of the programme demands a broader concept of human relations in administration than the limited concept of human relations in industrial enterprises in availing of suggestions from foreman and staff.

Personnel administration, as such, has its constructive, as also disciplinary, aspects. In the industrial enterprises the disciplinary aspects do not play a prominent part, for the worker who is below the standard can always be got rid of subject to the labour relations being congenial. In Government service however punitive measures have to play a large part inasmuch as the shortest and surest remedy for inefficiency in work is not always readily available.

—Nalin Panda

A PHILOSOPHY OF ADMINISTRATION; By MARSHALL E. DIMOCK, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1958, xiv, 176p., \$3.50.

In an age when administrative theory is ridden by behaviourism and management science approach, Marshall E. Dimock presents in this book, in a refreshing manner, a laudable but somewhat unsuccessful attempt to propound a philosophy of administration directed towards 'creative growth' and 'institutional vitality'. A philosophy is an integrated body of concepts, values and principles for guiding human action in one or more fields of human activity. A philosophy of adminis-

tration, the author feels, is essential today as administrators as a class largely determine the quality of human institutions upon which depends the kind of life society is going to have.

The central theme of Dimock's philosophy is that administration, like any human organism, is susceptible to growth and decline. Its continual growth depends upon integrated and balanced development both of individual administrators and

administrative institutions, their relationship to the surrounding cultural setting, and enterprising and imaginative administrative leadership. Growth is viewed both as qualitative and quantitative; its concepts provide a unified, and not a segmented, perspective of the administrative world. Balance is the keynote of integrated growth. "Administration is a skilful fusion of numerous variables in just the right proportions and with political acumen" and is concerned equally with both ends and means...the blending of institutional and individual values are the real criteria of organisation and ...the divisive influences such as hierarchy and functionalisation are only tools, not ends" (p.117).

Agreeing with William H. Whyte (*The Organisation Man*), Dimock contends that the increase in the size and complexity of an institution, after a certain optimal point, leads to over-specialisation which tends to reduce flexibility, vitality and opportunity for exercise of human initiative—elements which are vital to institutional growth. Size concentrates power. Concentrated power is universally bad for freedom and efficiency. Size also decreases facility of communication and human contact and increases the need of written policies, rules and procedures. Rules and procedures further extend rigidity and lead to deification of techniques. "... techniques, unless really integrated with a man's intelligence, personality, and way of life, are a poor foundation on which to run a society" (p. 159). Institutional growth requires a right fusion between the opposing principles of specialisation and balance—a kind of polarity. This calls for administrative leadership of a high order. The task of maintaining balance within the organisation, both in the sense of promoting flexibility and integrating "the needs of the organi-

zation with the corresponding need of the individual to find selfhood and growth', falls on the administrative leader—a point of view also put forward by Peter F. Drucker. The administrative leader must, we are told, possess what Elton Mayo calls 'social skills' by which is meant 'not only a better understanding of what men want psychologically, but also of what is good for them and for society in terms of values'. To Dimock, the past record of administration shows that it was the quality of leadership and not techniques which were responsible for great administrative successes. This in brief is the thesis put forward by Dimock—integrated personality, integrated programmes and integrated administration.

* * *

The administrative philosophy of Dimock seems to lose much of its vigour and balance as he extends it to some practical issues of the day. Applying the concept of 'balance' to relations between the public and private sectors, he advocates that both the Government and the private enterprises should strictly stay within their present spheres and that the Government should confine itself to creating conditions wherein enterprise and freedom can prosper and to serving as an umpire in case of power clashes. Whenever Government takes over a private enterprise for reasons of its failure it should be handed back to private entrepreneur as soon as the faults have been remedied. The Indian reader is left to wonder how far these precepts are relevant to conditions of 'developing' countries of the East.

Dimock is highly critical of Herbert A. Simon's behavioural approach and logical-positivism, which he feels might "produce a bureaucratized monstrosity in which individuals would be appropriately punished for independent thinking

and where administration would break down because of its segmented and artificial nature" (p.115). Man, he feels, is not "merely a piece of blotting paper" that "absorbs whatever juices are running in society"; nor is "motivation simply a matter of manipulation, exploitation, thought control." Administrators should think of 'adaptation' more the way the biologist does, and not in terms of conformity to group tastes and dictates as behaviourists advocate.

It is difficult to understand the fears of Dimock in regard to the contributions made by behavioural scientists to administrative theory. Behaviourism itself is implicit in the philosophy propounded by the author. In his opinion "a viable society is unthinkable without both vital individuals and competent groups. They are complementary and interacting. Group life creates the environment into which the individual is born, following which it helps to shape his personality, his motivation, his values" (p.159). A behaviourist views an organisation as a dynamic social organism, linked through a web of institutional relationship to outside groups and agencies that constitutes its environment. He holds that organisation and environment are highly inter-dependent and so does Marshall E. Dimock when he speaks of 'cultural setting' of the administration and points out that an organisation cannot "be safely generalized about quite apart from social objectives, the directing process, or the whole of administration" (p.112). Dimock stresses that his is essentially an organismic philosophy of administration as against the multi-dimensional theory of organisational behaviour put forward by the behaviourists. One is tempted to ask how is the latter not reconcilable with the former? Dimock's fears

about 'de-personalisation' of the individual under the behavioural philosophy seem to be unrealistic. Herbert A. Simon and James G. March point out that "An adequate theory of human behaviour in organizations will have to take account of the instrumental aspects of human behaviour, of the motivational and attitudinal, and of the rational" (*Organisations*, New York, John Wiley, 1958, p.6). Further, a widespread sharing of behavioural knowledge will itself defeat any attempt at long-run manipulation of the individual against his growth and development.

The author is equally sceptical of the utility of "operations research" and points out that modern gadgetery of quantitative analysis, as also an over-intellectualised approach to decision-making, is very likely to lead to bad judgements. He seems to agree with Chester Barnard that "logical reasoning processes are progressively necessary but are 'disadvantageous if not in sub-ordination to highly developed intuitional processes'" and favours "a greater degree of self-consciousness in the decision-making process, ... accompanied by adequate attention to the non-logical elements, the artistry, the intellectual honesty, the values and all the other things Chester Barnard balances so skilfully" (pp. 137 and 145).

The apprehensions of Dimock in regard to 'operations research' are hardly justifiable. He himself points out that "administration is in part a logical intellectual pursuit; that setting objectives and figuring out how to attain them is a matter of rationality plus experience, and more than merely a matter of guesswork and intuition" (p.106). Modern statistical tools are designed to replace intuition and rules of thumb by intelligent judgement. These tools can be of great help in analysing

problems and developing alternative solutions; they cannot, however, assist in taking 'value' decisions. That decision-making in administration has to reckon with certain illogical elements, Dimock fully concedes (vide his reference to the views of Chester Barnard quoted above). The limitations of human cognition are equally emphasised by Herbert Simon when he says that "it is precisely in the realm where human behaviour is *intendedly* rational, but only *limitedly* so, that there is room for a genuine theory of organization and administration" (*Administrative Behaviour*, Introduction to the Second Edition, New York, Macmillan, 1957, p.xxiv).

An 'integral' philosophy of administration can ill-afford to ignore any of the different factors which go to make administration. A biological

approach to administration may be useful in explaining administrative growth and decay and in giving a sense of cohesion and meaning to administrative action but beyond a certain limit it is likely to undermine vitality rather than strengthen it. All conceptional schemes have limitations. Even the concept of biology has failed to explain all elements of life. Administration, if it is to come of age, needs a rationale, a philosophy, of its own but it can hardly be a philosophy which takes into account only the physiological and cultural aspects of administration and fights shy of scientific attempts to analyse, assess and integrate the complex and varied forces affecting human motivations, attitudes and rationality in administrative behaviour.

—B.S. Narula

BOOK NOTES

PATTERNS OF PERFORMANCE; By ELI GINZBERG and others, New York, Columbia University Press, 1959, xix, 340p., \$6.00.

This is the third complementary, and completing, volume of the comprehensive investigation into *The Ineffective Soldier: Lessons for Management and the Nation*—undertaken under the Conservation of Human Resources Project started at the Columbia University at the instance of General Eisenhower. The earlier two studies are: *The Lost Divisions* and *Breakdown and Recovery*. Extracting from the rich experience of World War II, the study brings out important lessons of value to the Armed Services, business, and the community at large. By examining in detail how men performed prior to their entrance into the Army,

between enlisting and breakdown, and after their return to civilian life, the Conservation staff has been able to secure new and important perspectives on the complex problem of performance.

Some important findings of the study of ineffectiveness of the American soldier during World War II which have pertinence to both military and civilian organisations are as follows: (1) As the number of men who must be screened to meet an organization's needs increases, less should be expected of the selection mechanism. As the assignments for which men are being selected become broader and less specific, the selection process will be less reliable. (2) Heavy reliance on a man's educational achievement as a criterion for assessing his potential

performance is justified up to a point because individuals without a specified minimum will be unable to cope with most assignments. But it is an error to read too much into a man's educational background. (3) The increasingly widespread practice in the U.S.A. of many organizations to rely on psychiatric assessments to evaluate a man's potential performance appears to be misguided. A man's emotional stability is only indirectly related to his ability to perform effectively. (4) One of the specific advantages which accrue to large organizations from their size is the opportunity to exploit the great range of their job opportunities for personnel development. (5) No organisation can elicit a high level of performance unless its personnel policies are attuned to the basic concepts of equity. (6) Trained people can never be secured on a moment's notice. They must be developed.

The study reveals the complexity of the individual, organizational, and environmental factors that influence performance. Often differences in the range, *i.e.*, quality, of performance, reflect not individual differences so much as variations in leadership and organizational policy. The environment, like an individual's characteristics or an organization's policy, can operate either positively or negatively to alter the range within which men perform.

The range of actions which the management of large organizations can take to control ineffective performance are reviewed in terms of the need to plan, the stability of policies, and the specification of policies and procedures. Long-range planning alone is not enough: the key to success lies in the quality of the plans. A basic stability in policy has a great impact on the individual's expectations and motiva-

tion. Large organizations are under the special necessity to govern through policy rather than through persons. Since in a large organisation, there cannot be personal relations between most of the work force and the management, the integrity of the people in responsible positions can be tested only by the way they act in the face of concrete situations involving members who have performed well or poorly. Lastly, some of the major values characteristic of a modern democratic society that dare not be ignored in the formulation and implementation of manpower and personnel policy are: "broadened opportunity, the balancing of equity and efficiency in the establishing of rewards, moderation in discipline, ... and the desirability of affording all who fail at least a second chance".

BEHAVIOR OF INDUSTRIAL WORK GROUPS—PREDICTION AND CONTROL; By LEONARD R. SAYLES, New York, John Wiley, 1958, viii, 182p., \$4.75.

Based on field data collected by the author during the period 1951-1955 from an examination of work records, interviews, and observations of 300 work groups in thirty plants in a variety of industries, the present study classifies the patterns of the long-run behaviour of industrial work groups into four categories—Apathetic, Erratic, Strategic and Conservative. Underlining the behaviour characteristic of each of these four groups, the author discusses in detail how the group behaviour, whether tending towards the passive or towards the continuously active, seems to be influenced by relatively objective variables, such as relative position on promotional 'ladders' of the plant, relative size and importance of the group, similarity of jobs within the group, the degree to which the work is indispensable in

the functioning of the plant or department, and the precision with which management can measure work-load and pace for the group. "*The quality of the pressures* exerted by such interest groups is affected, to a substantial degree, by the *internal organization of the work unit*, as determined, primarily, by the work flow and division of labour. Interdependence in the work process tends to be associated with the more spontaneous, sporadic kinds of outbursts. Sustained activity, which seems to be the product of carefully thought-through, long-run objectives, is more characteristic of independent, individual operations than of crew and assembly lines". Developing this thesis further in terms of its implications for managements and unions and bringing in the role of the informal groups and friendship cliques in matters of controlling work methods, out-put standards and prestige relationship, Prof. Sayles propounds the theory that the technology of the plant—the way jobs are distributed and flow into one another and the nature of the division of labour—moulds the types of work groups that evolve within the plant and exerts a major influence on the source of motivation and morale, *i.e.*, the work group. He also points out that we have tended mistakenly to place full responsibility on the supervisor for his group's behaviour; the behaviour of the supervisor is conditioned to a substantial degree by the reactions of the group. There are many facets of group behaviour which can more readily be related to the internal structure of the group and its relative position in the total plant structure than the behaviour of the supervisor. While Elton Mayo and other researchers on human relations in the thirties emphasised the workers' need for *social* satisfactions on the job and the studies at the Survey Research Centre at the Michigan

University have underlined the importance of the factor of group solidarity and success in attaining economic satisfaction, the author stresses that to explain the group behaviour "we need to relate the work structure (as determined by technology) and the associated social structure to their potential for economic interest grouping". The organisation of work contributes significantly to the behaviour of work groups; methods utilized by the group in accepting or challenging the actions of both management or unions are determinable; because quite contrary to the accepted maxim, the human element is a 'resultant of the technological decisions and, in part at least, predictable from them'.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING FOR SOCIAL AGENCY PRACTICE; By MARTHA MOSCROP, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1958, viii, 245p., \$7.50.

Drawing upon her rich experience as Supervisor of Staff Training and Development Programmes in the British Columbia Social Welfare Branch, Miss Moscrop has in this book extracted therefrom principles applicable to the experience and to the needs of social welfare agencies and executives in many different settings. The social workers employed by the Social Welfare Branch in rural and smaller urban communities of the British Columbia are "general practitioners." Half of them are qualified social workers; half are in-service trained. The book surveys the nature and scope of in-service training programmes, administrative considerations involved, recruitment practices and techniques, the nature and extent of teaching, the setting up of agency standards, the various forms of staff development and their adaptations and the

problem of evaluating trainees and staff. The need for in-service training for social agency practice arises from the never-ending shortages of staff professionally trained in social work. Underlining this need is the growing recognition of formal education in social work. There can be no effective application of methods of social work without a professional knowledge, understanding and intuitive skill of these methods. In-service training is conceived as that part of a social agency's total programme of staff development which prepares otherwise unprepared people to do the work for which they are employed. In-service training and staff development programme are inseparable. Further, programmes of in-service training and staff developments must be based on a firm conviction and decision about their usefulness on the part of the top management.

The author favours that supervisor with teaching ability should be given an assistant who could take over the handling of the details of administration—processing vouchers, managing the office, attending to the matters which concern the clerical staff. A supervisor with administrative ability should have an assistant who could teach. Miss Moscrop believes that administrative methods and professional methods are an integrated whole and that evaluations become a part of staff development only when those who are evaluated take part in them. The knowledge the social worker is called upon to possess is staggering. Among the qualities to be assessed in the recruitment interview are intelligence, character, relationships, interests, attitudes, motives. It is necessary for all social workers to recognise and resolve any conflicts they may have with their own families, as of all people, social workers should lead well-rounded lives.

THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER—A STUDY IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION; By A.H. ASLAM. ed. Gerard M. Friters. Lahore, The Department of Political Science, University of the Panjab, 1957, vi, 58p., Rs. 3.

Tracing the origin and development of the office of the Deputy Commissioner, the study surveys his functions and duties (as Collector of revenues, as District Magistrate and as District Collector) in the context of changed economic and political circumstances since Independence. It finds that "concentration of (multifarious) duties in the hand of one official is by itself a fallacy and leads to inefficiency"; that a member of the Civil Service of Pakistan is more successful as Collector than his colleague from the Provincial Services; and that the behaviour pattern of the Civil Service are "conditioned by men whose outlook may, not unfairly, be described as 'snobbish'." Referring to duality of control exercised over the Deputy Commissioner—by the Commissioner and by the High Court—the author considers in some detail the question of separation of the judiciary from the executive.

With the growing interference by the politicians in his work, his decreasing control over the police, the decline in his influence with 'local' people based in the past on his erstwhile powers to recommend the grant of lands and titles, and the increasing strain "imposed by the chaotic conditions of the Secretariat" the Deputy Commissioner has "become an anachronism". (These facts obviously relate to conditions prevailing before the advent of the New Regime in October 1958.) The study underlines the importance of restoring to the Deputy Commissioner something of his old status, respect, independence and giving him increased

powers for exercising effective co-ordination and supervision and taking decisions on the spot.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN PAKISTAN; By MUSHTAQ AHMED, Karachi, Pakistan Publishing House, 1959, X, 265p., Rs. 10.75.

The book contains an attempt to analyse the forces that have been at work in the body-politic of Pakistan and their impact on her political and administrative institutions. There are interesting chapters, written in a historical perspective, on "Head of the State", "Cabinet and Prime Ministers" and "Political Parties". Part III, on "Civil Service", though significantly short, brings out the deterioration since 1947 in administrative standards—in matters of recruitment, integrity, competence and efficiency. "...far from being a privileged and secluded community as in the British period, the Civil Service in Pakistan tended to become a part of the wealthy class, leading a life of splendour and luxury completely out of tune with the general standards of living in the country". Again, "Servicemen became politicians by stepping into ministerial positions, and Ministers used their positions to enter state service. The officials developed a natural desire to protect the interests of their patron-politicians, and the politicians for patronising their favourite officials. Official interference in politics was but a consequence of these mutually beneficial adjustments." From Rs. 10 crores in 1948 the administrative expenditure had increased to over Rs. 30 crores in 1957, an amount roughly 25 per cent of revenue budget. The author attributes deterioration in administrative and political standards to the failure of political leadership and the supremacy of the landed aristocracy "which had converted the Republic of the People into a Repub-

lic of the Landlords." The last chapter deals with the achievements of the New Regime in the field of administrative and land reforms, refugee rehabilitation and the economic problems of Pakistan. A pronounced preference for the Presidential system, a strong and if possible a unitary Centre, educational qualifications for the membership of the legislature and recall of members by their constituents, we learn, are some of the dominant trends in its constitutional thinking for the future.

NEW TECHNIQUES FOR MANAGEMENT DECISION MAKING; By FRANKLIN A. LINDSAY, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1958, 173p., \$15.00.

This report is designed to give to managers an understanding of the capabilities and limitations of the new decision-making tools grouped under such titles as: operations research, systems analysis, probability theory, game theory, input-output analysis, and operational gaming. The report is divided into four parts: (1) An outline of the different ways the tools can be used, and an explanation of the central function of the mathematical model; (2) A description of the various analytical techniques presented in three groups; probability techniques, which are used in decision-making under conditions of uncertainty; programming techniques, which might be described as algebraic means of reaching rigorous mathematical solutions of problems involving the complex interaction of many variables; and simulation techniques, which are systematic trial-and-error means of solving problems and especially of finding the implications of different policies and alternative external events; (3) An examination of the actual and potential applications of these techniques to practical management problems; and (4) An evaluation of their usefulness

and limitations. Mathematical analysis, we are told, assists the executive in improving his decisions by increasing the number of alternatives that he can consider, by speeding up the decision-making processes, by helping him to evaluate the relative risks of bold and conservative courses, and by helping him to bring into optimum balance the many diverse elements of a modern enterprise.

OPERATIONS RESEARCH FOR INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT; By DIMITRIS N. CHORAFAS, New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1958, ix, 303p., \$8.75.

The book presents, explains and discusses some of the most recently developed analytical techniques in the area of managerial decisions, for making them more rational and for making the allocation of finite resources among competing alternative ends more effective. Operations research is defined as "a mathematical basis for study and analysis of engineering and management problems, for the purpose of making the soundest decision possible". In contrast to management by intuition or rule of thumb, and to the later development of the so-called management by patterns, operations research provides modern management with mathematical bases for decision and allo-

cation. Although the book avoids very elaborate mathematical formulae, some familiarity with mathematics is presupposed, since applied mathematics is the basis of operations research. The first two chapters cover the fundamentals of experimental model making, of game theory, of business simulation methods, and of strategic gaming. The latter is the latest in the field of operations research. Then are discussed some of the most basic analytical means of strategy formulation; these are followed by consideration of modern allocation methods; linear programming, transportation and flow, matrix analysis for production scheduling and inventory control. Two subjects included in the book which are the outcome of the writer's personal research are matrix analysis for production scheduling and inventory control and a mathematical model for management analysis. Distinguishing systems engineering from operations research, the author points out that systems engineering focuses on *strategic* objective analysis, judgement, synthesis and rational design of complete and usually complex systems. Operations research, on the other hand, is concerned with *tactical* objective analysis of present and future operations, providing quantitative finding for management decision.

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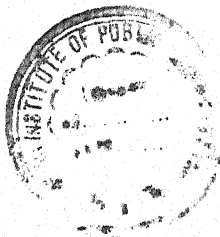
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